

ODES of PINDAR.

With feveral other

Pieces in Profe and Verfe.

Pieces in 1800 and 1810.



MAINTENANCE OFFICE

ORDER OF BIDDING

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O D E S

OF

P I N D A R,

With several other

Pieces in Prose and Verse,

Translated from the G R E E K.

To which is prefixed a DISSERTATION on the

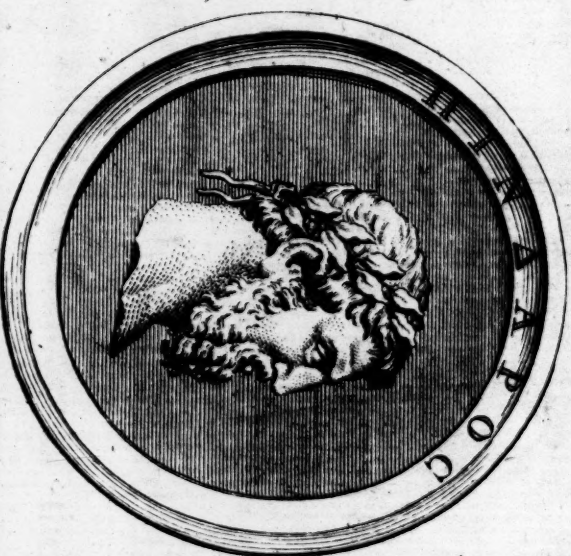
O L Y M P I C K G A M E S.

By GILBERT WEST, Esq. LL. D.

Res antiquæ Laudis et Artis

Ingreddor, sanctos ausus recludere Fontes.

VIRG. Georg. L. ii.



L O N D O N,

Printed for R. DODSLEY, at Tully's Head in Pallmall.

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By GILBERT M. K. J. Esq.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

To which is prefixed a Dissertation on the



History of the University of Cambridge

By the Rev. John Dodsworth, M.A.

Author of the

History of the University of Cambridge

Vol.

II. D. E. S.

TO

The Right Honourable

WILLIAM PITT, ESQ.

Paymaster General of his Majesty's Forces,

One of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council,

And to the Honourable

GEORGE LYTTLETON, ESQ.

One of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury,

THIS VOLUME

Is inscribed by the Author,

Who is desirous that the Friendship,

With which they have for many Years honoured him,

And the sincere Affection and high Esteem,

Which he hath conceived for them,

From a long and intimate knowledge of their Worth and Virtue,

May be known wherever the Publication of the ensuing Pieces

Shall make known the Name of GILBERT WEST.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DO hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears on the records of the Department of the Interior.

Witness my hand and the seal of the Department at Washington, this 1st day of January, 1900.

JOHN W. FOSTER, Secretary of the Interior.

Approved: JAMES H. HANCOCK, President of the United States.

Attest: JOHN W. FOSTER, Secretary of the Interior.

Witness my hand and the seal of the Department at Washington, this 1st day of January, 1900.

JOHN W. FOSTER, Secretary of the Interior.

Approved: JAMES H. HANCOCK, President of the United States.

One of the copies of the original of the following is hereby certified to be a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears on the records of the Department of the Interior.

GEORGE T. LITTLETON, ESQ.

Witness my hand and the seal of the Department at Washington, this 1st day of January, 1900.

One of the copies of the original of the following is hereby certified to be a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears on the records of the Department of the Interior.

By the Secretary of the Interior.

M. G. I. V. W. B. I. T. E. S. O.

Witness my hand and the seal of the Department at Washington, this 1st day of January, 1900.

JOHN W. FOSTER, Secretary of the Interior.

P R E F A C E.

OF all the great Writers of Antiquity, no one was ever more honoured and admired while living, as few have obtained a larger and fairer Portion of Fame after Death, than PINDAR. *Pausanias* tells us, that the Character of Poet was really and truly consecrated in his Person, by the God of Poets himself, who was pleased by an express Oracle to order the Inhabitants of *Delphi* to set apart for *Pindar* one half of the First-Fruit Offerings brought by the Religious to his Shrine; and to allow him a Place in his Temple; where, in an *Iron* Chair he was used to sit, and sing his *Hymns*, in Honour of that God. This *Chair* was remaining in the Time of *Pausanias*¹ (several hundred Years after) to whom it was shewn as a Relict not unworthy of the Sanctity and Magnificence of that holy Place. *Pan*² likewise, another *Musical* Divinity, is reported to have skipped and jumped for Joy, while the *Nymphs* were dancing in Honour of the Birth of this *Prince of Lyrick* Poetry; and to have been afterwards so much delighted with his

¹ Paus. in Bart.² Paus. in Phoc.³ Philostratus in Icon.

P R E F A C E.

Compositions, as to have sung his *Odes* in the hearing even of the Poet himself⁴. Unhappily for us, and indeed for *Pindar*, those Parts of his Works, which procured him these extraordinary Testimonies from the Gods (or from Mortals rather, who by the Invention of these Fables meant only to express the high Opinion they entertained of this great Poet) are all lost: I mean his *Hymns* to the several Deities of the Heathen World. And even of those Writings, to which his less extravagant, but more serious and more lasting Glory is owing, only the least, and, according to some People, the worst Part is now remaining. These are his *Odes* inscribed to the *Conquerors* in the *Four sacred Games of Greece*. By these *Odes* therefore are we now left to judge of the Merit of *Pindar*, as they are the only living Evidences of his Character.

Among the Moderns⁵ those Men of Learning of the truest Taste and Judgment, who have read and considered the Writings of this Author in their original Language, have all agreed to confirm the great Character given of him by the Ancients. And to such who are

⁴ Plut. in Numa.

⁵ See Abbé *Fraguier's* Character &c. and *Kennet's* Life of *Pindar*, of *Pindar*, printed in the 3d Vol. in the Lives of the Greek Poets.

P R E F A C E.

still able to examine *Pindar* himself, I shall leave him to stand or fall by his own Merit; only bespeaking their Candour in my own Behalf, if they shall think it worth their while to peruse the following Translations of some of his Odes: which I here offer chiefly to the *English* Reader, to whom alone I desire to address a few Considerations, in order to prepare him to form a right Judgment, and indeed to have any Relish of the Compositions of this great *Lyrick Poet*, who notwithstanding must needs appear before him under great Disadvantages.

To begin with removing some Prejudices against this Author, that have arisen from certain Writings known by the Name of *Pindarick Odes*, I must insist that very few, which I remember to have read under that Title, not excepting even those written by the admired Mr. *Cowley*, whose Wit and Fire first brought them into Reputation, have the least Resemblance to the *Manner* of the Author, whom they pretend to imitate, and from whom they derive their Name; or if any, 'tis such a Resemblance only as is expressed by the *Italian* Word *Caricatura*, a monstrous and distorted Likeness. This Observation has been already made by Mr. *Congreve* in his Preface to two admirable Odes, written professedly in

P R E F A C E.

in Imitation of *Pindar* ; and, I may add, so much in his true Manner and Spirit, that he ought by all means to be excepted out of the Number of those, who have brought this Author into Discredit by pretending to resemble him.

Neither has Mr. *Cowley*, though he drew from the Life, given a much truer Picture of *Pindar* in the Translations he made of two of his *Odes*. I say not this to detract from Mr. *Cowley*, whose Genius, perhaps, was not inferior to that of *Pindar* himself, or either of those other two great Poets, *Horace* and *Virgil*, whose Names have been bestowed upon him, but chiefly to apologize for my having ventured to translate the same *Odes* ; and to prepare the Reader for the wide Difference he will find between many Parts of *his* Translations and *mine*.

Mr. *Cowley* and his Imitators (for all the *Pindarick* Writers since his Time have only mimick'd him, while they fancied they were imitating *Pindar*) have fallen themselves, and by their Examples have led the World into two Mistakes with regard to the Character of *Pindar* : both which are pointed out by Mr. *Congreve* in the Preface above-mentioned, and in the following Words :

“ The Character of these late *Pindaricks* is a Bundle
“ of rambling incoherent Thoughts, expressed in a like
“ Parcel

P R E F A C E.

“ Parcel of irregular Stanzas, which also consist of such
“ another Complication of disproportioned, uncertain,
“ and perplexed Verses and Rhimes. And I appeal to
“ any Reader, if this is not the Condition in which these
“ Titular Odes appeared.

“ On the contrary (adds he) there is nothing more
“ regular than the Odes of *Pindar*, both as to the exact
“ Observation of the Measures and Numbers of his Stanzas and Verses, and the perpetual Coherence of his
“ Thoughts. For though his Digressions are frequent,
“ and his Transitions sudden, yet is there ever some
“ secret Connexion, which, though not always appearing
“ to the Eye, never fails to communicate itself to the
“ Understanding of the Reader.”

Upon these two Points, namely, the *Regularity of Measure* in *Pindar's* Odes, and the *Connexion* of his Thoughts, I shall beg Leave to make a few Observations.

These Odes were all compos'd to be sung by a *Chorus* either at the Entertainments given by the *Conquerors*, (to whom they were inscribed) or their Friends, on account of their Victories, or at the solemn Sacrifices made to the Gods upon those Occasions. They consist generally of three Stanzas, of which the following Account

P R E F A C E.

count was communicated to me by a learned and ingenious Friend.

“ Besides what is said of the *Greek Ode* in the *Scholia* upon *Pindar*, I find (says he) the following Passage in the *Scholia* on *Hephestion*; it is the very last Paragraph of those *Scholia*.”

The Passage cited by him is in *Greek*, instead of which I shall insert the Translation of it in *English*.

You must know that the Ancients (in their Odes) framed two larger Stanzas, and one less; the first of the large Stanzas they called Strophé, singing it on their Festivals at the Altars of the Gods, and dancing at the same Time. The second they called Antistrophé, in which they inverted the Dance. The lesser Stanza was named the Epode, which they sung standing still. The Strophé, as they say, denoted the Motion of the higher Sphere, the Antistrophé that of the Planets, the Epode the fixed Station and Repose of the Earth.

“ From this Passage it appears evident that these Odes were accompanied with Dancing; and that they danced one Way while the *Strophé* was singing, and then danced back again while the *Antistrophé* was sung. Which shews why those two Parts consisted of the same Length and Measure; then when the Dancers were
“ returned

P R E F A C E.

“ returned to the Place whence they set out, before they
 “ renewed the Dance they stood still, while the *Epode*
 “ was sung.

“ If the same Persons both danced and sung, when
 “ we consider how much Breath is required for a full
 “ Song, perhaps one may incline to think, that the
 “ *Strophé* and *Antistrophé* partook something of the
 “ *Recitative* Manner, and that the *Epode* was the more
 “ compleat *Air*.

“ There is a Passage in the ancient *Grammarians*,
 “ *Marius Victorinus*, which is much to the same Pur-
 “ pose as this above, though he does not distinctly speak
 “ of Dancing. The Passage is this :

“ *Pleraque Lyricorum carminum, quæ versu, colisque*
 “ *et commatibus componuntur, ex Strophé, Antistrophé, et*
 “ *Epodo, ut Græci appellant, ordinata subsistunt. Quorum*
 “ *ratio talis est. Antiqui Deorum laudes carminibus com-*
 “ *prehensas, circum aras eorum euntes canebant. Cujus*
 “ *primum ambitum, quem ingrediebantur ex parte dextrâ,*
 “ *Strophen vocabant ; reversionem autem sinistrossum*
 “ *factam, completo priore orbe, Antistrophen appellant.*
 “ *Deinde in conspectu Deorum soliti consistere cantici, re-*
 “ *liqua consequiebantur, appellantes id Epodon.*

* b

“ The

P R E F A C E.

“ The Writers I have quoted speak only of *Odes*,
“ sung in the Temples ; but *Demetrius Triclinius*, upon
“ the Measures of *Sophocles*, says the same Thing upon
“ the Odes of the *Tragick Chorus*.

“ What the *Scholiast* upon *Hephaestion*, cited above,
“ adds about the *Heavenly Motions*, &c. is also said by
“ *Victorinus*, and by *Demetrius Triclinius*, and likewise
“ by the *Scholiast* on *Pindar*. Yet I consider this in no
“ other Light, than I do the fantastical Conceits with
“ which the Writers on Musick abound. *Ptolemy*, out
“ of his three Books of *Harmonics*, employs one almost
“ entirely upon comparing the Principles of Musick with
“ the Motions of the Planets, the Faculties of the Mind,
“ and other such ridiculous Imaginations. And *Aristo-*
“ *des Quintilianus*, supposed an older Author, is full of
“ the same Fooleries. *Marius Victorinus* has another
“ Scheme also, *viz.* that the dancing forwards and back-
“ wards was invented by *Theſeus*, in memory of the
“ Labyrinth out of which he escaped. But all this is
“ taking much unnecessary Pains to account why, when
“ Dancers have gone as far as they can one Way, they
“ should return back again ; or at least not dance in the
“ same Circle, ’till they are giddy.”

Such

P R E F A C E.

Such was the Structure of the *Greek* Ode, in which the *Strophé* and *Antistrophé*, i. e. the first and second Stanzas, contained always the same Number and the same kind of Verses. The *Epode* was of a different Length and Measure; and if the Ode run out into any Length, it was always divided into *Triplets* of Stanzas, the two first being constantly of the same Length and Measure, and all the *Epodes* in like manner corresponding exactly with each other: from all which the Regularity of this kind of Compositions is sufficiently evident. There are indeed some Odes, which consist of *Strophés* and *Antistrophes* without any *Epode*; and others which are made up of *Strophés* only, of different Lengths and Measures. But the greatest Number of *Pindar's* Odes are of the first kind.

I have in the Translation retained the Names of *Strophé* and *Antistrophé*, on purpose to imprint the more strongly on the Mind of the *English* Reader, the exact Regularity observed by *Pindar* in the Structure of his Odes; and have even followed his Example in one, which in the Original consists only of two *Strophés*. And in my Translation of a *Tragedy* of *Euripides*, I have in like manner varied the *Measure* in Imitation of the

*b2 Original,

P R E F A C E.

Original, as far as the different Genius of the *Greek* and *English* *Verse* would allow.

Another Charge against *Pindar* relates to the supposed Wildness of his Imagination, his extravagant Digressions, and sudden Transitions, which leads me to consider the second Point, viz. the *Connexion* of his *Thoughts*. Upon which I shall say but little in this Place, having endeavoured to point out the *Connexion*, and account for many of the *Digressions* in my *Arguments* and *Notes* to the several Odes which I have translated. Here therefore I shall only observe in general, that whoever imagines the *Victories* and *Praises* of the *Conquerors* are the proper *Subjects* of the *Odes* inscribed to them, will find himself mistaken. These *Victories* indeed gave Occasion to these Songs of Triumph, and are therefore constantly taken notice of by the Poet, as are also any particular and remarkable Circumstances relating to *them*, or to the Lives and Characters of the *Conquerors* themselves : but as such Circumstances could rarely furnish out Matter sufficient for an Ode of any Length, so would it have been an Indecency unknown to the Civil Equality and Freedom, as well as to the Simplicity of the Age in which *Pindar* lived, to have filled a Poem intended to be sung in Publick, and even at the Altars of the Gods, with

P R E F A C E.

with the Praises of one Man only; who besides, was often no otherwise considerable, but as the Victory which gave Occasion to the Ode had made him. For these Reasons the Poet, in order to give his Poem its due Extent, was obliged to have Recourse to other Circumstances, arising either from the Family or Country (f the *Conqueror*, from the *Games* in which he had come off victorious, or from the particular Deities who had any Relation to the Occasion, or in whose Temples the Ode was intended to be sung. All these and many other Particulars, which the reading the Odes of *Pindar* may suggest to an attentive Observer, gave Hints to the Poet, and led him into those frequent Digressions, and quick Transitions; which it is no wonder should appear to us at this Distance of Time and Place both extravagant and unaccountable. Some of these are indicated in the Notes upon the ensuing Odes.

Upon the whole, I am persuaded that whoever will consider the Odes of *Pindar* with regard to the Manners and Customs of the Age in which they were written, the Occasions which gave Birth to them, and the Places in which they were intended to be recited, will find little Reason to censure *Pindar* for want of Order and Regularity in the Plans of his Compositions. On the con-

trary

P R E F A C E.

trary perhaps, he will be inclined to admire him for raising so many Beauties from such trivial Hints, and for kindling, as he sometimes does, so great a Flame from a single Spark, and with so little Fuel.

There is still another Prejudice against *Pindar*, which may rise in the Minds of those People, who are not thoroughly acquainted with ancient History, and who may therefore be apt to think meanly of *Odes*, inscribed to a Set of *Conquerors*, whom possibly they may look upon only as so many *Prize Fighters* and *Jackeys*. To obviate this Prejudice, I have prefixed to my Translation of *Pindar's Odes* a *Dissertation* on the *Olympick Games*: in which the Reader will see what kind of Persons these *Conquerors* were, and what was the Nature of those famous *Games*; of which every one, who has but just looked into the History of *Greece*, must know enough to desire to be better acquainted with them. The Collection is as full as I have been able to make it; assisted by the Labours of a learned *Frenchman*, *Pierre du Faur*, who in his Book entitled *Agonisticon*, hath gathered almost every Thing that is mentioned in any of the *Greek* or *Latin* Writers relating to the *Grecian Games*, which he has thrown together in no very clear Order; as is observed by his Countryman *Monf. Burette*, who hath written

P R E F A C E.

written several Pieces on the Subject of the *Gymnaſtick Exercises*, inserted in the 2d Volume of *Memoires de l'Academie Royale*, &c. printed at *Amſterdam* 1719. In this *Dissertation* I have endeavoured to give a compleat History of the *Olympick Games*: of which kind there is not, that I know of, any Treatise now extant; those written upon this Subject by some of the Ancients being all lost, and not being supplied by any learned Modern, at least not so fully as might have been done, and as so considerable an Article of the *Grecian Antiquities* seemed to demand. As I flatter myself that even the learned Reader will in this *Dissertation* meet with many Points, which have hitherto escaped his Notice, and much Light reflected from thence upon the *Odes* of *Pindar* in particular, as well as upon many Passages in other *Greek Writers*, I shall rather desire him to excuse those Errors and Defects which he may happen to discover in it, than apologize for the Length of it.

Having now removed the chief Prejudices and Objections which have been too long and too generally entertained against the Writings of *Pindar*, I need say but little of his real Character, as the principal Parts of it may be collected from the very Faults imputed to him; which are indeed no other than the *Excesses* of great and acknowledged

P R E F A C E.

acknowledged Beauties, such a poetical Imagination, a warm and enthusiastick Genius, a bold and figurative Expression, and a concise and sententious Stile. These are the characteristical Beauties of *Pindar*; and to these his greatest Blenishes, generally speaking, are so near allied, that they have sometimes been mistaken for each other. I cannot however help observing, that he is so entirely free from any Thing like the far-fetched Thoughts, the witty Extravagances, and puerile *Concetti* of Mr *Cowley* and the rest of his Imitators, that I cannot recollect so much as even a single *Antithesis* in all his Odes.

Longinus indeed confesses, that *Pindar's* Flame is sometimes extinguished, and that he now and then sinks unexpectedly and unaccountably; but he prefers him with all his Faults to a Poet, who keeps on in one constant Tenour of Mediocrity, and who, though he seldom falls very low, yet never rises to those astonishing Heights, which sometimes makes the Head even of a great Poet giddy, and occasion those Slips which they at the same Time excuse.

But notwithstanding all that has or can be said in favour of *Pindar*, he must still appear, as I before observed, under great Disadvantages, especially to the *English*

Reader

P R E F A C E.

Reader. Much of this Fire which formerly warmed and dazzled all *Greece*, must necessarily be lost even in the best Translation. Besides, to say nothing of many Beauties peculiar to the *Greek*, which cannot be expressed in *English*, and perhaps not in any other Language, there are in these Odes so many References to secret History, so many Allusions to Persons, Things, and Places now altogether unknown, and which, were they known, would very little interest or affect the Reader, and withal, such a Mixture of Mythology and Antiquity, that I almost despair of their being relished by any, but those who have, if not a great deal of *Classical Learning*, yet somewhat at least of an *antique* and *Classical Taste*.

Every Reader, however, may still find in *Pindar* something to make amends for the Loss of those Beauties, which have been set at too great a Distance, and in some Places worn off and obliterated by Time; namely, a great deal of Good-sense, many wise Reflections, and many moral Sentences, together with a due Regard to Religion; and from hence he may be able to form to himself some Idea of *Pindar* as a *Man*, though he should be obliged to take his Character as a *Poet* from others.

But that he may not for this rely altogether upon my Opinion, I shall here produce the Testimonies of two

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great

P R E F A C E.

Poets, whose excellent Writings are sufficient Evidences both of their Taste and Judgment. The first was long and universally admired, and is still as much regretted by the present Age: the latter, who wrote about seventeen hundred Years ago, was the Delight and Ornament of the politest and most learned Age of *Rome*. And though even to him, *Pindar*, who lived some Centuries before him, must have appeared under some of the Disadvantages abovementioned, yet *he* had the Opportunity of seeing all his Works, which were extant in his Time, and of which he hath given a sort of *Catalogue*, together with their several Characters: an Advantage which the *former* wanted, who must therefore be understood to speak only of those Odes which are now remaining. And indeed, he alludes to those only, in the following Passage of his *Temple of Fame*. *Pope's* Works, small Edit. Vol. III. p. 17. §. 210.

Four Swans⁶ sustain a Car of Silver bright,
With Heads advanc'd, and Pinions stretch'd for Flight:
Here, like some furious Prophet, *Pindar* rode,
And seem'd to labour with th' inspiring God.

⁶ *Four Swans sustain, &c.* *Pindar* sure intimates the Sublimity and being seated in a Chariot, alludes to Activity of his Genius. *Neptune* the *Horse Races* he celebrated in the presided over the *Isthmian*, and *Jupiter* over the *Olympian Games*. This blaims of Poetry; their soaring Po- Note is of the same Author.

P R E F A C E.

Acroſs the Harp a careleſs Hand he flings,
And boldly ſinks into the ſounding Strings.
The figur'd Games of Greece the Column grace,
Neptune and *Jove* ſurvey the rapid Race :
The Youths hang o'er their *Chariots* as they run ;
The fiery *Steeds* ſeem ſtarting from the Stone :
The *Champions* in diſtorted Poſtures threat ;
And all appear'd irregularly great.

The other Paſſage is from *Horace*, L. iv. Ode 2. viz.
Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet emulari, &c.
which, for the Benefit of the *Engliſh* Reader, I have thus
tranſlated.

He, who aſpires to reach the tow'ring Height
Of matchleſs *Pindar's* Heaven-aſcending Strain,
Shall ſink, unequal to the arduous Flight,
Like him, who falling nam'd th' *Icarian* Main ;
Preſumptuous Youth ! to tempt forbidden Skies !
And hope above the Clouds on *waxen* Plumes to riſe !

Pindar, like ſome fierce Torrent ſwoll'n with Snow's,
Or ſudden Cataracts of melting Snow,
Which from the *Alps* its headlong Deluge pours,
And foams and thunders o'er the Vales below,
With deſultory Fury borne along
Rolls his impetuous, vaſt, unfathomable Song.

P R E F A C E.

The *Delphick Laurel* ever sure to gain;
Whether with lawless *Diabyrambick* Rage
Wild and tumultuous flows the sounding Strain;
Or in more ordered Verse sublimely sage
To *Gods* and *Sons of Gods* his Lyre he strings,
And of fierce *Centaurs* slain, and dire *Chimæra* sings.

Or whether *Pisa's Victors* be his Theme,
The valiant *Champion* and the rapid *Steed*;
Who from the Banks of *Alpheus*, sacred Stream,
Triumphant bear *Olympia's Olive Meed*;
And from their *Bard* receive the tunefull Boon,
Richer than sculptur'd Brads, or imitating Stone.

Or whether with the Widow'd Mourner's Tear,
He mingles soft his *Elegiack* Song;
With *Dorian* Strains to deck th' untimely Bier
Of some disastrous Bridegroom fair and young;
Whose Virtues, in his deifying Days,
Through the black Gloom of Death with Star-like Radiance blaze.

When to the Clouds, along th' *Ætherial* Plain,
His airy Way the *Theban Swan* pursues,
Strong rapid Gales his sounding Plumes sustain:

While

P R E F A C E.

While wond'ring at his Flight my tim'rous Muse,
In short Excursions tires her feeble Wings,
And in sequester'd Shades, and flow'ry Gardens sings.

There, like the Bee, that from each od'rous Bloom,
Each fragrant Offspring of the dewy Field,
With painfull Art extracts the rich Perfume,
Solicitous her honied Dome to build,
Exerting all her Industry and Care,
She toils with humble Sweets her meaner Verse to rear.

The Remainder of this Ode has no Relation to the present Subject, and is therefore omitted.

The following Collection of Poems (to borrow the Metaphor made use of by *Horace*) consists wholly of Sweets, drawn from the rich and flowery Fields of *Greece*. And if in these Translations any of the native Spirit and Fragrancy of the Originals shall appear to be transfused, I shall content myself with the humble Merit of the little laborious Insect above-mentioned. But I must not here omit acquainting the Reader, that among these, immediately after the Odes of *Pindar*, is inserted a Translation of an Ode of *Horace*, done by a Gentleman, the peculiar Excellency of whose Genius hath often revealed what his

P R E F A C E.

Modesty would have kept a Secret. And to this I might have trusted to inform the World, that the Translation I am now speaking of, though inserted amongst mine, was not done by me, were I not desirous of testifying the Pride and Pleasure I take in seeing in this, and some other Instances, his admirable Pieces blended and joined with mine; an Evidence and Emblem at the same Time of that Friendship, which hath long subsisted between us, and which I shall always esteem a singular Felicity and Honour to myself.

The Authors, from whom the other Pieces which compose this Volume are translated, are so well known, that I need say nothing of them in this Place, neither shall I detain the Reader with any farther Account of the Translations themselves, than only to acquaint him, that I translated the *Dramatick* Poem of *Lucian* upon the *Gout*, when I was myself under an Attack of that incurable Distemper, which I mention by way of Excuse; and that all the other Pieces, excepting only the *Hymn of Cleanthes*, and the *Dialogue of Plato*, were written many Years ago, at a Time when I read and wrote, like most other People, for Amusement only. If the Reader finds they give any to him I shall be very glad of it, for it

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is

P R E F A C E.

is doing some Service to Human Society, *to amuse innocently*; and they know very little of Human Nature, who think it can bear to be always employed either in the Exercise of its Duties, or in high and important Meditations.



CON-

CONTENTS

Dissertation on the Olympic Games.

	Page.		Page.
SECT. I. Of the Original of the Olympick Games.	3	Sect. XI. Of the Pancratiun.	70
Sect. II. Of the Reftitution of the Olympick Games.	9	Sect. XII. Of the Horse Races.	75
Sect. III. Of the religious Ce- remonies.	12	Sect. XIII. Of the feveral kinds of Chariot Races.	99
Sect. IV. Of the Olympiad.	28	Sect. XIV. Of the Race of Riding Horses.	104
Sect. V. Of the Hellanodicks, or Presidents of the Olym- pick Games.	33	Sect. XV. Of the Candidates for the Olympick Crown.	109
Sect. VI. Of the Games, and of the Olympick Stadium.	41	Sect. XVI. Of the Olympick Crown, and other Honours and Rewards conferred upon the Conquerors.	122
Sect. VII. Of the Foot-Races.	46	Sect. XVII. Of the Utility of the Olympick Games.	152
Sect. VIII. Of the Palé, or Wrestling.	52	Of Gymnastick Exercises, a Dialogue translated from Lucian.	156
Sect. IX. Of the Pentathlon.	58		
Sect. X. Of the Cæstus.	64		

DISSERTATION

ON THE

Olympick Games.

— *Pulverem Olympicum*
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Ольбик Games

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DISSEMINATION

DISSERTATION ON THE OLYMPICK GAMES.

SECTION I.

Of the Original of the Olympick Games.

THE Vanity of the *Grecians* in magnifying their Antiquities is remarkable in every Part of their History. There was scarce a considerable Town, or Family of any Note, that did not boast itself descended from some God; and shew a Pedigree deduced from the earliest Ages of the World. This fabulous and extravagant Nobility served for a common Topick of Flattery among all their Poets, not to add Orators and Historians: too many Instances of which are to be met with in the Odes of *Pindar*.

It is no wonder then, if in the Accounts of their religious Institutions we meet with the same Mixture of Fable, the same Pretensions to Antiquity, and an Original derived some way or other from the Gods. Their Deities were born in the fabulous Age, and had taken Possession of all *Greece* long before the Birth either of History or Chronology; which did not come in use till some time after the Institution of the *Olympick Games* by *Iphitus* the *Ellean*.

Whoever, therefore, would make an Inquiry into the Original Establishment of these Games, must be contented with such an Account of it, as was either invented or received by the *Eleans*, in whose Territory, and under whose Direction they were celebrated; an Account made up of Fables and Traditions.

And indeed the *Eleans* are of all People the most to be excused for mingling Fables with their Accounts of an Institution, that is universally acknowledged to have subsisted before the Use of Chronological Dates and Records: the first Example of which they themselves gave in the Register of the *Olympick* Conquerours, which they began to keep soon after the Restoration of those Games; and by the Invention of which they have made a sufficient Expiation, not for themselves alone, but for all their Countrymen. For if they have given us Fable and Tradition, where we might have expected History, they have in Return helped us to the Means of distinguishing thenceforward between one and the other; and of having Truth and History, where we could otherwise hope to have met with nothing but Fable and Impossure.

Let them then be indulged in a Vanity, which they have in common with all the Nations of the World, both ancient and modern; and in which they were flattered and encouraged not a little by the great Reputation of the *Olympick* Games. For, to say Truth, the Sanctity and Solemnity of that Festival; the Majesty and Supremacy of the God to whom it was dedicated; and the great Value set upon the *Olympick* Crowns, by the unanimous Consent of all *Greece*, were Arguments sufficient to have induced even the most scrupulous Historian to receive a Tradition, or adopt a Fable, that furnished him with a Founder, worthy of so sacred and august an Institution.

Accordingly, the greatest and most venerable Personages of Antiquity, the *Idean Hercules*, *Clymenus*, *Endymion*, *Pelops*, and *Her-*

THE OLYMPICK GAMES.

v

cules the Son of *Alcmæna*, have been severally introduced as the Inventors or Revivers of these Games; and, to support their different Pretensions, Reasons have been sought for, and Arguments produced from among the Religious Rites and Ceremonies, the Laws and Customs of this Solemnity. Thus *Pausanias*¹, for example, tells us, that these Games were ordered to be celebrated every *Five* Years, because the Brothers, called the *Idæi Dactyli*, of whom the *Idæan Hercules* was the elder, were *Five* in Number; to whom in particular, as also to his Four Brethren, an Altar was consecrated at *Olympia*, by *Clymenus*, who was descended from this *Hercules*, and is said to have celebrated these Games Fifty Years after the Deluge of *Deucalion*. The Term *Athletæ* (a Name signifying those who contended for the Prize, called also *Athlon*) is by others derived from *Aethlus* the Father of *Endymion*², who, as well as his Sons, is reckoned among the Founders of this Festival. And as for *Pelops*, that Hero was held in such high Veneration at *Olympia*³, that the *Eleans* in their Sacrifices gave him the Preference, even before *Jupiter* himself; for which they alledged the Practice of *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmæna*; to whose Labours also, as *Pindar* informs⁴ us, they were indebted for their Olive Crown.

But not contented with a Founder, who was mortal by his Mother's Side⁵, the *Eleans* have carried their Antiquities still higher, and name for the Authors of these Games *Jupiter* and *Saturn*; who, as they pretend, in the very Place where these Games were afterwards celebrated, wrestled with each other for the Empire of the World.

Others affirm, that they were instituted by *Jupiter*, in Commemoration of his Victory over the *Titans*; and that *Apollo* in particular signalized himself, by gaining two Victories; one over *Mercury* in the Foot Race, and another over *Mars* in the Combat of the *Cæssus*. And

¹ Paus. l. v. ² Euseb. Chron. ³ Schol. ad Pind. Olymp. Od. i. ⁴ Olymp.

Ode 3. ⁵ Paus. l. v.

this,

this, say they, is the Reason that the Exercise of *Leaping* (one of the Five Exercises of the *Pentathlon*) is always accompanied with Flutes playing *Pythian* Airs; because those Airs are consecrated to *Apollo*, and because *Apollo* gained two Victories in the *Olympick* Games.

In this Account we may observe History (for there is something of historical Truth at the Bottom of all these Traditions) swelling by degrees, and growing insensibly into Fable; till by a Progress, like that of *Fame* in *Virgil*², its Bulk becomes too big for Truth and Probability, and reaching at length from Earth to Heaven, it there totally disappears, lost and confounded, with the rest of the Antiquities of *Greece*, in the Clouds of Mythology and Superstition.

It is needless to mention the Names of several other Heroes of those early Ages, who, by different Authors, are said to have celebrated these Games. The last of these was *Oxylus*, who came into the *Peloponnesus* with the *Heracides*³. After whom followed so long an Intermission of that Solemnity, that the Memory of it was almost lost.

The Occasions of celebrating the *Olympick* Games seem to have been various. Sir *Isaac Newton* is of Opinion⁴, “That they were originally celebrated in Triumph for Victories; first by *Hercules* upon the Conquest of *Saturn* and the *Titans*; and then by *Chymenus* upon his coming to reign in the *Terra Curetum*; then by *Endymion* upon his conquering *Chymenus*; and afterwards by *Peleus* upon his conquering *Aetolus*; and by *Hercules* upon his killing *Augeas*; and by *Atræus* upon his repelling the *Heracides*; and by *Oxylus* upon the Return of the *Heracides* into *Peloponnesus*.” This Opinion may be very well supported out of ancient Authors. *Pindar* expressly tells us, in his Second *Olympick* Ode, that *Hercules* instituted this Festival to *Jupiter*, on occasion of the Victory he obtained over *Augeas*. But the Oracle delivered to the *Peloponnesians*, at the

¹ Paul. l. v.

² *Æneid.* iv.

³ Paul. l. v.

⁴ *Chron.* p. 156.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. vii

Restitution of these Games by *Iphitus*, says, they were celebrated first by *Pisus* in Honour of *Jupiter*¹; then by *Pelops* twice; first, upon his coming to settle in *Greece*, and a second Time at the Funeral of *Oenomaus*; and after him by *Hercules* in Memory of *Pelops*²; at whose Death likewise, as *Velleius Paterculus* informs us, they had before been celebrated as Funeral Games by his Son *Atreus*; upon which Occasion, says the same Author, *Hercules* came off Victor in all the Exercises. And indeed this Account of the Occasion of celebrating the *Olympick* Games, is very agreeable to a Custom, which, as we learn from *Homer*, *Pindar*, and all the *Greek* Writers, prevailed very much in those Heroick Ages. Games, with Prizes for the Conquerours, were the usual Compliment, and made up the greatest Part of the Ceremony at the Funeral of every Person of Note and Quality. The Expence of these Games was sometimes borne by the Relations and Friends of the Deceased, as we may see by the Example of *Achilles*, who out of his own Treasures gave the Prizes, and those of no inconsiderable Value, to the Conquerours in the Games, by him celebrated at the Funeral of *Patroclus*. Sometimes the Funeral was at the Appointment of the Publick; and an anniversary Solemnization of Games was enacted in honour of the Deceased; such were those instituted by a³ Decree of the *Syracusians*, as a perpetual Memorial of the godlike Virtues of *Timoleon* their Deliverer and Legislator.

To one or other, therefore, of these Customs, in all likelihood, was owing the Original of the *Olympick* Games; as also of those celebrated at the Isthmus of *Corinth*, at *Delphi*, *Nemea*, and indeed in every considerable Town throughout all *Greece*. It is not so easy to assign a Reason how those celebrated at *Olympia* came to have the Rank and Precedency of all the other; some of which were dedicated to the same God, and could boast as venerable, and as ancient

¹ Phlegon. ² L. i. c. 8. ³ Plut. in Timol.

^a Founda.

a Foundation. But whatever may have been the Reason of this Preference, all the People of *Greece* acquiesced in it, and agreed to bestow the first Honours upon the *Olympick* Conquerours.

It cannot, however, I think, be pretended, that these Games were in any very great Estimation before the Time of their Restitution by *Iphitus*. This may very fairly be concluded as well from the Diversity and Uncertainty of the Accounts concerning the Original and Authors of them, as from the Silence of *Homer*, who in the Catalogue of the Ships (where he takes occasion to inform the Reader of the Name and Situation of the principal Towns of *Greece*) makes no mention of *Olympia*; nor when he speaks of *Ehis*, and the River *Alpheus*, as he doth in many Parts both of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, does he give the least Hint of the *Olympick* Games; tho' we are told by other Authors that they were celebrated by *Pelops* the Grandfather, and afterwards in his Honour by *Atreus* the Father of *Agamemnon*. *Homer*, besides makes frequent mention of Games, and particularly at the Funeral of *Patroclus*, introduces his greatest Heroes contending in the very same kind of Exercises, with those practised in the Stadium of *Olympia*: upon which occasion, had the *Olympick* Games been then in such Estimation, as they are said to have been, one may believe he would not have failed making some mention of them; as well to render more illustrious the Majesty of *Agamemnon*, the General of the *Greeks*, whose Grandfather *Pelops* was worshipped equally with *Jupiter* at that Solemnity, as to shew from so great and august a Precedent the high Value of the Honours paid by *Achilles* to his Friend.

• See Strabo l. viii.

SECTION

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. ix

SECTION II.

Of the Restitution of the Olympick Games.

PHILTUS, King of Elis, is by all Authors said to have *restored* the *Olympick Games*: which is not precisely true in any Sense. For if by the *Olympick Games* be understood the Religious Policy and Ordinances of that Festival; the general Armistice or Truce that always accompanied its Solemnization; the publick Mart¹ or Fair then held for the Benefit of Commerce; and the Period of *Four Years* called the *Olympiad*: All these he cannot so properly be said to have *restored*, as to have been the first Author and Institutor of them. For of most of these Things there is no Mention before his Time. Besides, allowing it to be true, that there were Games celebrated at *Olympia*, even so far back as the Golden Age, and that there was a Temple and Sacrifices of the same Date to *Jupiter Olympius*; it does not appear any where, as I remember, that all the *Greeks* were concerned in those Sacrifices, or invited to partake in those Games. It should seem, on the contrary, by what has been said above, that they were celebrated at unequal Distances of Time, on private and particular Occasions, and in Compliance rather with Fashion and Custom, than in Obedience to an Ordinance, that required their Solemnization at certain and stated Periods. If by the *Olympick Games* be meant what is more generally understood by those Words, the Gymnastick Combats and Horse Races exhibited in the Stadium at *Olympia*, he cannot be said to have *restored the Olympick Games*. For ²*Pausanias* tells us, that he restored only the Foot-Race; the other Exercises were afterwards added by the Authority of the *Elleans*, according as

¹ Vell. Pat. l. i. cap. 8. ² L. v.

X A DISSERTATION ON

they discovered or recollected what had formerly been practised in that Solemnity.

But *Iphitus* indeed may with great Justice be styled the *Founder* of the *Olympick* Games. For he seems to have been the first that reduced that Festival into a regular and coherent System or Form ; united the Sacred and Political Institutions ; and gave it, by the Establishment of the *Olympiad*, that Principle of Life and Duration, as enabled it to outlive the Laws and Customs, the Liberty, and almost the Religion of *Greece*.

The Occasion of the Re-establishment of the *Olympick* Games was as follows :

Greece at that Time being torn in Pieces by Civil Wars³, and wasted by a Pestilence, ⁴ *Iphitus*, one of the Descendants of *Hercules*, Grandson of *Oxylus*, and King of *Elis*, concerned at the Calamities, under which his Country then laboured, had Recourse to the Oracle at *Delphi*, for a Remedy to those Evils ; and was told by the *Pythones*, that the Safety of *Greece* depended upon the Re-establishment of the *Olympick* Games ; the Non-observance of which Solemnity had, as she told them, drawn down the Indignation of the God to whom it was dedicated ; and of *Hercules*, the Hero by whom it was instituted. She ordered him therefore, in Conjunction with the People of *Elis*, to set about restoring the Celebration of that Festival, and to proclaim a Truce or Cessation of Arms to all those Cities, who

³ Paul. l. v. Phlegon. Euseb. Chron.

⁴ In the Fragment of *Phlegon* (from whence the greatest Part of the following Account is taken) *Lycurgus*, the Law-giver of *Sparta*, and one *Clesthene*s of *Pisa*, are joined with *Iphitus* in restoring the *Olympick* Games. That this Account, which makes *Lycurgus* Contemporary with *Iphitus*, cannot be reconciled with Chro-

nology, the Reader may see in Sir *Isaac Newton*'s Chronology, even admitting, what seems to be intimated by *Phlegon*, that there were two Kings of *Elis* named *Iphitus*, between whom the same Author reckons twenty eight *Olympiads* to have passed, during which Time the Solemnization of the *Olympick* Games was interrupted --- But of this more hereafter.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. xi

were desirous of partaking in the Games^s. The other People of the *Peloponnesus*, whether jealous of the Pre-eminence claimed by the *Eleans* on this Occasion, or from a Spirit of Discord and Dissension, refusing to comply, sent a common Deputation to *Delphi*, ordering their Deputies to interrogate the Deity very strictly concerning the Oracle lately reported to them: but the Priests, ever ready to authorize the Schemes of Kings and Legislators, adhered to her former Answer; and commanded them to submit to the Directions and Authority of the *Eleans* in the ordering and establishing the ancient Laws and Customs of their Fore-fathers. The *Peloponnesians* then submitted, and allowed the People of *Elis* to hold their Festival, and proclaim a general Cessation of Arms. Thus were the *Olympick* Games established by the Authority of *Iphitus*, King of *Elis*, under the Direction of the *Delphick* Oracle, Seven hundred and Seventy six Years before the Birth of *Christ*, and Nineteen or Twenty before the Building of *Rome*, according to the common Chronology, but One hundred Forty nine according to Sir *Isaac Newton*. See *Newton's Chron.* P. 37, 38.

In this Institution there are three things to be considered: First, The Religious Ceremonies. Secondly, The Period or Cycle of Four Years, called the *Olympiad*: And Thirdly, the Games, comprehending the Equestrian and Gymnastick Exercises. Of each of which I propose to give as full and particular an Account, as I have been able to collect from the imperfect Relations of *Pausanias* (who yet is more copious on these Subjects than any other ancient Author) or from the short, and oftentimes obscure Hints and Allusions scattered up and down the Works of almost all the *Greek* Writers, as well in Prose as in Verse.

^s Phlegon.

SECTION III.

Of the Religious Ceremonies.

GRÆCÆ indeed (says *Pausanias*¹) abounds with Spectacles, which even in Description cannot fail of exciting our Admiration; yet (continues he) there is no one Solemnity among all these, transacted with so much religious Pomp and Care as the *Eleusinian* Mysteries and the *Olympick* Games. But as neither *Pausanias*, nor any other ancient Writer now extant, hath thought fit to give us a complete and circumstantial Account of the several Rites and Ceremonies observed on these solemn Festivals (some of which, especially those in the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, all the *Grecians* held it unlawful to divulge) we can only frame to ourselves a general Idea of the Splendor and Magnificence, with which they were performed, by taking a View of the Temples, Statues, &c. of the Deities to whom they were consecrated. Those of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, which alone relate to my present Subject, are thus described by *Pausanias*, in the Fifth Book of his Journey through *Greece*.

“ The Temple of *Jupiter* (says he) is erected on a consecrated Piece of Ground, called the *Allis*, an antique Word, appropriated “ to this sacred Inclosure, and made use of by *Pindar*², who tells “ us, that this hallowed Area was set apart and dedicated to *Jupiter* “ by *Hercules* himself. The Temple is built in the *Dorick* Order, “ and surrounded on the Outside with a *Peristyle* or Colonnade. The “ whole Edifice is composed of a beautiful Sort of ³ Marble found in “ that Country. Its Height to the Roof is Sixty eight Feet, its

¹ Lib. v. ² *Olymp. Od.* 10.

³ Of this Stone or Marble called *Parus*, us, that it resembled *Parian* Marble in Colour and Hardness, but was not so heavy. *Theophrastus*, and *Pliny* after him, informs

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. . . xiii

“ Breadth Ninety five, and its Length Two hundred and thirty. The
 “ Architect was *Libon*, a Native of that Country. This Temple is
 “ not covered with Earthen Tiles burnt, but with Marble brought
 “ from Mount *Pentelicus* (near *Athens*) and ⁴ cut in the Form of
 “ Tiles. On each Corner of the Roof is placed a gilded Vase, and
 “ on the Top of the Pediment a Statue of *Victory*, gilded likewise,
 “ under which is hung up a Golden Shield, with the Figure of the
 “ Gorgon *Medusa* carved upon it. The Inscription on the Shield
 “ imports, it to have been a Gift of the *Tanagrans*, who being in
 “ Alliance with the *Lacedemonians*, and having obtained a Victory
 “ over the *Argives* and *Athenians* near *Tanagra*, had consecrated the
 “ *Tenth* of the Spoils to *Jupiter Olympius*. On the Cornice which
 “ runs round the Temple on the Outside over the Columns are hung
 “ One and twenty Gilt Shields, a Present of *Mummius* the Roman
 “ General, who conquered the *Achaïans*, and took and destroyed Co-
 “ *rinth*.

“ In the Front-Pediment is a Piece of Sculpture, whose Subject
 “ is the Contest between *Oenomaüs* and *Pelops* in the Chariot-Race:
 “ Each of whom is represented as ready and just upon the Point of
 “ entering on the Course. In the Middle is a Figure of *Jupiter*; on
 “ his Right Hand stands *Oenomaüs*, with a Helmet on his Head, and
 “ near him his Wife *Sterope*, one of the Daughters of *Atlas*. Before

⁴ The Art of cutting Marble into Tiles was so extraordinary, that *Byza* of *Naxos*, who first invented it, thought proper to perpetuate the Honour of his Invention by an Inscription, which may be seen in *Pausanias*.

The famous Temple of *Minerva* at *Athens* seems, by *Wheeler's* Description of it, to have resembled this in so many Particulars, that we may, by reading that Description, be enabled more clearly to understand this given by *Pausanias* of the Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*. They were

both probably built about the same Time, and each of them adorned with a Statue made by the same admirable Artist. *Wheeler* says, that the Height of the Columns, which run round the Temple of *Minerva*, were Forty two Feet, whence by the Rules of Architecture some Judgment may be formed of the whole Height of that Temple, and perhaps some probable Conjecture of the Height of this, which *Pausanias* says was Sixty eight Feet, but whether to the Top or the Bottom of the Pediment I leave the Learned to determine.

“ the

xiv A DISSERTATION ON

“ the Horses, which are Four in Number, appears *Myrtilus*, the
 “ Charioteer of *Oenomaüs*, and behind him stand two other Men,
 “ who; tho’ their Names are not inscribed, seem to be two Grooms
 “ attending on the Horses of *Oenomaüs*. In the Corner of the Pediment is represented the *Cladeus*, a River which next to the *Alpheus*
 “ is held in the greatest Honour by the *Eleans*. On the Left Hand
 “ of *Jupiter* stand *Pelops* and *Hippodamia*, the Charioteer of *Pelops*,
 “ his Horses and Two Grooms, and in the Angle is figured the River
 “ *Alpheus*. This whole Piece of Sculpture is the Workmanship of
 “ *Peonius* of *Menda*, a City of *Thrace*; but that in the Pediment of
 “ the Back-Front was done by *Acalmenes*, who lived in the Time of
 “ *Phidias*, and was second to him alone in Art and Genius. In this
 “ Pediment is represented the Battle of the *Centaur*s and the *Lapithæ*
 “ at the Marriage of *Pirithous*. In the Middle of the Piece stands
 “ *Pirithous*; near him, on one Side, appears *Eurytion* carrying off the
 “ Bride, and *Cæneus* coming to the Assistance of *Pirithous*: On the other
 “ Side *Theseus* with his Battle-axe combating the *Centaur*s. Among the
 “ *Centaur*s is one represented running away with a young Virgin, and another carrying off a beautiful Boy. This Subject, as I imagine, was
 “ chosen by *Acalmenes*, because *Pirithous*, as he had learned from *Homer*, was the Son of *Jupiter*; and *Theseus* was the fourth in Descent
 “ from *Pelops*. Over the Gates of the Temple in like manner are
 “ exhibited most of the Labours of *Hercules*, as the Hunting of the

It appears from this Passage, and some others in *Pausanias*, that the ancient *Greeks*, among whom the Arts of Statuary and Painting, at least the former, were carried to a Perfection not yet equalled by the Moderns, thought it no Disgrace to the finest Performances in each of those Kinds, to add the Names under the several Figures, or a general Inscription explaining the Subject, and pointing out the principal Personages therein represented.

Whether this was any real Disfigurement to those admirable Works, I will not take upon me to determine; but it certainly was of use, especially in Historical Pieces, intended to deliver down to Posterity the Memory of any great Action, and the chief Persons concerned in it. *Pausanias* himself, who seems to have been a very learned Antiquarian, found the Advantage of those little explanatory Inscriptions in many Instances, as might easily be shewn.

“ *Ery-*

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. xv

“ *Erymanthian* Boar, the Story of the *Thracian Diomedé*, and of *Ge-
ryon*. In one Piece *Hercules* is represented as going to ease *Atlas* of
“ his Burden, and in another as cleansing the Stable of *Augeas*. Over
“ the Gates on the Back Part of the Temple the same Hero is seen
“ fighting with an *Amazon*, from whom he tears away her Belt :
“ there also are figured the Stories of the Hind, of the *Gnosian* Bull,
“ the *Lernean* Hydra, the *Symphalian* Birds, and the *Nemean* Lion.

“ As you enter into the Temple through the Brazen Gates, you per-
“ ceive on your Right Hand, standing before a Column, a Statue of
“ *Iphitus* and his Wife *Ekecharia*, who is putting a Crown on the
“ Head of her Husband. In the Inside of the Temple also are Ranges
“ of Columns, which form Porticos (or *Illes*) of a great Height ;
“ between which you pass on to the Statue of *Olympian Jupiter*.
“ There is also a winding Stair-case leading up to the Roof.

“ The Statue of the God, which is composed of Gold and Ivory,
“ is seated on a Throne, with a Crown upon his Head, resembling
“ the Leaves and Branches of a wild Olive. In his Right Hand he
“ bears a Statue of Victory composed likewise of Ivory and Gold,
“ holding in her Hand a sacred Fillet or Diadem, and wearing a
“ Crown upon her Head. In his Left Hand is a Sceptre of exquisite
“ Beauty, inlaid with all Sorts of Metals, and bearing an Eagle perch’d
“ upon it. The Sandals of the God, as also his Robe, are of Gold.
“ The latter wrought over with all Sorts of Animals and Flowers,
“ particularly Lilies. The Throne is diversified with Gold and pre-
“ cious Stones, with Ebony and Ivory, and painted with the Repre-
“ sentations of divers kinds of Animals. About it also are many Fi-
“ gures in Sculpture; four Victories, for Instance, in the Attitude of
“ Dancers, round the upper Part of each Leg of the Throne, and
“ two more at each of the Feet. On those Legs also which support
“ the Fore-part of the Throne are carved *Sphinxes* devouring the *The-
ban* Children, and under the *Sphinxes*, *Apollo* and *Diana* slaying
“ with their Arrows the Children of *Niobe*. Between the Legs of
“ the

xvi A DISSERTATION ON

“ the Throne run four Pieces, in the Nature of Braces. Upon that
 “ which fronts the Entrance are seven Figures; the eighth by some
 “ unknown Accident has disappeared. Those Figures exhibit a Re-
 “ presentation of such Exercises as were practised of old in the *Olym-*
 “ *pick* ⁶ Games, before Boys were admitted to contend in them.
 “ Tradition, however, informs us, that the Figure, which is binding
 “ its Head with a Fillet or Diadem, resembled *Pantarcus*, an *Elean*
 “ Boy, with whom *Phidias* was enamour’d, and who, in the Class
 “ of Boys, gain’d the Wrestler’s Crown in the Eighty sixth *Olympiad*.
 “ On the other Braces is represented *Hercules* with his Band of War-
 “ riors fighting against the *Amazons*. The Number of Figures in
 “ both Groups is Twenty nine: *Theseus* is placed among the As-
 “ sistants of *Hercules*. The Throne, besides its own proper Legs, is
 “ supported likewise by four Columns, of an equal Height with the
 “ Legs, and placed between them. No one is permitted to go un-
 “ der the Throne, to view it in the Inside, as is allow’d at *Amyclæ*,
 “ where I had Liberty to view the Inside of *Apollo’s* Throne. But at
 “ *Olympia* the Throne of *Jupiter* is inclosed by a kind of Wall, on
 “ purpose to keep the Spectators at a distance. That Part of the Wall,
 “ which faces the Gates of the Temple, is stained with one Colour
 “ only, namely, a Sky-blue; the other Parts are painted by *Panæus*,
 “ who in one Piece hath represented *Atlas* bearing up the Heavens,
 “ and *Hercules* standing by, and offering to ease him of his Load:
 “ in others are seen *Theseus*, and *Piritheus*; a Figure of *Greece*, and
 “ another of *Salamis*, holding in her Hand one of those Ornaments
 “ that are usually placed either on the Head or Stern of a Ship. In
 “ others are represented the Combat of *Hercules* with the *Nemean*
 “ Lion; the Violence offered by *Ajax* to *Cassandra*; *Hippodamia*
 “ the Daughter of *Oenomaus*, together with her Mother; and *Prome-*
 “ *theus* bound down with Chains, and *Hercules* looking on him. For

⁶ In the Original there is some Error, Manuscript. I have given what I take to
 which can only be corrected by a good be the Author’s Meaning.

“ *Hercules*,

“ *Hercules*, among the other Exploits attributed to him, is reported to
“ have released *Prometheus* from his Bonds, and to have killed the
“ Eagle, which was sent to punish him on Mount *Caucasus*, where
“ he lay bound. The last Piece presents *Penthesilea* giving up the
“ ghost, and *Achilles* supporting her; and two of the *Hesperides*,
“ bringing some of the Golden Apples, which were committed to their
“ Custody.

“ This *Panæus* was the Brother of *Phidias*, and the same, who
“ at *Athens*, in the Portico called *Pæcile*, painted the Action of
“ *Marathon*.

“ On the upper Part of the Throne, over the Head of *Jupiter*,
“ *Phidias* has placed on one Side the Graces; and the Hours (or Sea-
“ sons) on the other; each Three in Number, and alike Daughters of
“ *Jupiter*, according to the Poets. The Footstool of the God is
“ adorned with golden Lions, and a Representation of the Battle be-
“ tween *Theseus* and the *Amazons*; the first Exploit of the *Athenians*
“ against a foreign Enemy. The Bais, or Pedestal, which sustains
“ the whole Work, is enriched with many other Ornaments, and Fi-
“ gures in Gold, all of which have some Relation to *Jupiter*; as the
“ Sun mounting his Chariot, attended by *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and one
“ of the Graces, next to whom stands *Mercury*, and next to *Mercury*
“ *Vesta*: After *Vesta* is seen *Cupid* receiving *Venus* rising out of the
“ Sea, and the Goddess *Persuasion* placing a Crown on the Head of
“ *Venus*. Here also are the Figures of *Apollo* and *Diana*, of *Minerva*
“ and *Hercules*, and on the lowest Part of the Bais, *Neptune* and
“ *Amphitrite*, and the Moon riding on a Horse; for I take it to be a
“ Horse, tho’, according to others, that Goddess is carried by a Mule,
“ and not a Horse. I am not ignorant that some People have under-
“ taken to give the exact Dimensions of this Statue of *Jupiter Olym-*
“ *pius*, yet I cannot applaud their Skill, since it appears to the Eye
“ much larger than the Dimensions assign’d by them. The *Eleans*
“ tell us, that *Jupiter* himself bore Testimony to the Art of *Phidias*,

d

“ for

xviii : A DISSERTATION ON

“ for that Statuary, when he had completed his Work, begged of *Jupiter* to give some Token of his Approbation, if he was pleased with the Performance; upon which, say they, the Pavement was immediately struck with Lightning, in that Place, upon which a brazen Urn is still to be seen as a Memorial of the Miracle. That Part of the Pavement which is immediately before the Statue is composed of black Marble, surrounded with a circular Rim of *Parric* Marble, raised about it like a Step, on purpose to contain the Oil that is poured into it, in order to preserve the Ivory from being injured by the Damps arising out of the Ground; the *Altis*, where the Temple is erected, being wet and marshy.”

To this Passage, translated from *Pausanias*, I shall add another, taken from *Strabo*⁷, in which are some Particulars relating to this famous Statue and the Temple, worthy of our Observation:

“ The Temple (says he) stands in the *Pisæan* Division, little less than three hundred Stadia distant from *Elis*; before it is a Grove of wild Olives, within which lies the *Olympick* Stadium; by it passes the River *Alpheus*, running from *Arcadia* South-west into the *Triphylian* Sea. *Olympia* at first derived its Reputation from the Oracle of *Olympian Jupiter*; and tho’ this Oracle fell afterwards into Decay, yet the Temple retained its ancient Honour. But its present Greatness and Magnificence is owing, undoubtedly, to the *Olympick* Games, and to the Number of Offerings and Donations brought thither from all Parts of *Greece*; among which is a Golden Statue of *Jupiter*, presented by *Cypselus*, Tyrant of *Corinth*. But of all these, the Ivory Statue of *Olympian Jupiter*, made by *Phidias* of *Athens*, is, by far, the most considerable; the Bulk of which is so vast, that the Artist seems, in my Opinion, to have deviated from the Rule of Proportion; for altho’ the Temple is of the largest Size, and the God is represented sitting, yet he almost touches the Ceiling with his Head;

⁷ Lib. viii.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. xix

“ so that were he to rise out of his Throne, and stand upright, he
“ would carry the Roof along with him ⁸.

“ *Phidias* was much assisted in the Composition, the Colours, and
“ particularly in the Drapery of this Statue, by *Panæus*, a Painter,
“ his Brother and Fellow-workman ; many of whose Paintings, and
“ those very admirable, are to be seen up and down the Temple. There
“ is a Tradition, that *Phidias* being ask'd by *Panæus*, by what Pat-
“ tern or Idea he intended to frame his Image of *Jupiter*, answered,
“ by that given in the following Verses of *Homer* :

“ This said, his kingly Brow the Sire inclin'd,
“ The large black Curls fell, awful, from behind,
“ Thick shadowing the stern Forehead of the God ;
“ *Olympus* trembled at th' Almighty Nod⁹. ”

How well the Performance answered the great Idea of the Statuary, may be conjectured from what *Polybius* ¹⁰ relates of *Lucius Æmilius*, who, entering into the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, and contemplating the Statue, was astonished, and said, that, in his Opinion, *Phidias* was the only Man who had succeeded in representing the *Jupiter* of *Homer* ; and that, tho' his Expectations about *Olympia* had been raised very high, yet he found they came far short of the Truth.

Quintilian remarks of *Phidias* ¹¹, that he succeeded better in the Statues of his Gods, than of his Men ; and that, in Works of Ivory, he indisputably excelled all the World ; of which, to say nothing of his other Performances, the Image of *Minerva* at *Athens*, and of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, were evident Proofs ; whose Beauty, continues he, seems

⁸ The Height of the Temple, according to *Pausanias*, was sixty-eight Feet ; hence then it appears, that the Statue, with its Throne and Pedestal, was near sixty-eight Feet in Height.

⁹ Fifth Book of *Homer*, by *Tickell*.

¹⁰ In *Fragment. Polybii*, p. 1015. *Edit. Casaub.* et apud *Suidam*, voce *Θειώτατος*.

¹¹ *Instit.* L. xii. cap. 10.

XX A DISSERTATION ON

to have added Reverence even to Religion itself, so nigh does the Majesty of the Work approach to that of the Divinity.

Before this Statue hung a Veil or Curtain, of Woollen Cloth, dy'd in *Phœnician* Purple¹², and enriched with *Assyrian* Embroidery; an Offering made by King *Antiochus*. This Curtain is not drawn up to the Roof, like that in the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, but let down to the Pavement.

I shall not follow *Pausanias* any further, in his Account of the many rich *Votive Offerings* or Donations, sent to *Olympia* from almost all Parts of the Heathen World, and lodged in or about the Temple and *Altis* of *Jupiter Olympius*; or in the Temples of other Deities, and in Buildings called *Treasures*, erected at *Olympia* by several States, in order to receive and keep the Presents, which at any Time they had vowed to *Jupiter*; and perhaps the Money destin'd to defray the Expence of the Sacrifices to be made at the solemn Festival of the *Olympick* Games. The Reader, who is desirous of knowing more of these several Particulars, may find them in *Pausanias*; a *French* Translation of whose Journey through *Greece*, by the Abbé *Gadoyn*, was published at *Amsterdam*, in four Vol. Octavo, in 1733. In the same Author he may likewise see a long List of Statues of Gods and Heroes, of *Olympick* Conquerours, Emperors, and Kings, &c. to give an Account of all which, would carry me too far from my Subject, and swell this Dissertation to an unreasonable Bulk. It may be sufficient to observe, that their Number was prodigious, and their Value almost inestimable; as they were many of them composed of the richest Materials, and made by the most eminent Statuaries of *Greece*. What is here said in general, joined to the Description of the Statue of *Olympian Jupiter*, the Master-piece of *Phidias*, and therefore very justly esteem'd one of the Wonders of the World, may serve to shew how liberal and magnificent the *Greeks* were, in what related to the Worship of their Gods; and to give us a just Conception of the Pomp and Splendour of

¹² *Paul.* *ibid.*

the

the *Olympick Games*, the first and the most august of the *Four Great Festivals of Greece* ¹³, by Way of Eminence styled *Sacred*; a Character communicated in some Degree to those, who obtained the Crowns in the several Games, which were always exhibited in these religious Solemnities.

The Sacrifices offer'd to *Jupiter* upon his Festival were answerable to all this Magnificence; I say, the Sacrifices offer'd at the Time of the Celebration of the *Olympick Games*; for tho' the ¹⁴*Eleans* paid their Devotions to him every Day throughout the Year, yet *Lucian* assures us ¹⁵, that *Jupiter* was wont to take it very kindly, if a Stranger offer'd him any Sacrifice in the Intervals of those Games. However, it was then made up to him; for then not the *Eleans* only, and the Candidates for the *Olympick Crown*, but all the principal Cities of *Greece* made their Offerings to the *Olympian Jupiter*; as may be collected from a Passage of *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Demetrius* ¹⁶. These Offerings were committed to the Care and Conduct of Deputies solemnly appointed for that Occasion, and named *Thebri*. How considerable they were, we may, perhaps, in some Measure guess from those prepared by *Jason*, against the Celebration of the *Pythian Games*. This *Jason*, by a Decree of all the People of *Thessaly*, had been appointed their General ¹⁷, a Dignity differing in little, besides the Name, from that of Sovereign: Upon the Approach of the *Pythian Games*, he ordered, by a Proclamation, all his Cities to fat up so many Oxen, Sheep, Goats, and Swine; and tho' he impos'd but a moderate Quota

¹³ The other three were the *Pythian*, *Isthmian*, and *Nemean Games*.

¹⁴ *Pauf. L. v.* ¹⁵ De Sacris.

¹⁶ That this was a general Custom observed by the *Greeks* upon their great Festivals, as the *Olympick* or *Pythian Games*, &c. is farther evident from the following Passage of *Livy*, who, speaking of the Games that *L. Æmilius Paulus* celebrated

at *Amphipolis*, after his Victory over *Perseus*, has these Words; *Nam et artificum omnis generis qui ludicram artem faciebant, ex toto orbe terrarum multitudo, et athletarum, et nobilium equorum convenit, et legationes cum vicinis, et quidam aliud Decorum, hominumque causa feri magnis Ludis in Græcia solet. L. xlv. c. 32.*

¹⁷ *Xen. G. Hist. L. vi.*

upon every City, he got together above a Thousand Oxen, and more than ten Times as many smaller Cattle. He promis'd likewise to reward with a Crown of Gold that Person, who should produce the fattest Ox, fit to be put at the Head of such a Herd of Victims. I will not say that the Offerings of every City in *Greece* were to be compared to this of *Jafon*. He represented all *Theſſaly*, and, as the Deputy or *Theſſrus* of a whole People, collected the Contributions of the ſeveral States or Cities. *Athens* perhaps, and the other principal States of *Greece*, might do the ſame for all the Cities that were under their Jurifdictions. There are alſo ſome private Reaſons aſſigned, that may account for the extraordinary Preparations made by *Jafon*. He is ſaid to have had ſome Thoughts of aſpiring to preſide at thoſe Games¹⁸, and to hold, by his own Authority, the Feſtival in Honour of *Apolla*.

That private Perſons alſo, thoſe eſpecially who had gained the Honour of an *Olympick* Victory, ſometimes made very ſumptuous Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, may be inferred from what *Athenæus* relates of *Alcibiades*; who, having gained the Firſt, Second, and Fourth Prizes in the Chariot-Race, feaſted the whole Multitude of *Grecians*, that were gathered together on the account of the *Olympick* Games, with the Victims offer'd to *Jupiter*. For at all great and ſolemn Sacrifices the Victims were generally ſhared among thoſe who were invited to the Sacrifice, only a ſmall Portion of them being conſumed upon the Altar. And it is probable, that all thoſe, who from ſeveral Parts of the World were aſſembled on theſe Occaſions at *Olympia*, were ſubſiſted chiefly by the Sacrifices provided by every City of *Greece*; of one or other of which every private *Grecian* had a natural Right to partake. This Conſideration, added to the Motives of Religion and Vanity, whoſe Influence on the *Grecians*, ever reckoned a ſuperſtitious and oſtentatious People, was always very powerful, may induce us to conclude, that the whole Apparatus of the Sacrifices, furniſhed by every

¹⁸ Xen. L. vi.

State, was, on this most solemn Festival, exceeding sumptuous and magnificent.

The principal Altar¹⁹, upon which the Sacrifices to *Jupiter* were consumed, was placed in the mid-way between the Temples of *Juno* and *Pelops*; and was, by way of Eminence, distinguished by the Name of the Altar of *Olympian Jupiter*. This Altar, as some say, was built by the *Idean Hercules*; or, as others, by the Heroes of the Country, about two Generations later. It was composed (says *Pausanias*) of the *Alhes*²⁰ of the Victims, mixed up with the Waters of the River *Alpheus*. No other Water would do, as both *Plutarch*²¹ and *Pausanias* pretend; the Scholiast upon *Pindar's Tenth Olympick Ode* says the same Thing; and hence is infer'd the great Affection which *Jupiter* is said to have had for that River. These *Alhes* were brought every Year on the 19th of *March* out of the Publick Hall, by the Priests or *Augurs*²²; who, tempering them with the Waters of *Alpheus*, made a Sort of Plaster, wherewith they crusted over the Altar. The whole Height of this Altar was twenty-two Feet; to the Top of which, where the Victims were burnt, the Priest ascended by Steps, crusted over in like Manner with *Alhes*, from the Plinth, or lower Basis, where the Victims were brought and slain: the Circumference of this Basis was one hundred and twenty-five Feet, and to this they mounted by Steps of Stone.

During the Time of Sacrifice the Altar was crown'd with a Garland made of the Branches of a wild Olive²³.

As it was not possible to temper into Mortar the *Alhes*, with which this Altar was incruited, with any other Water than that of *Alpheus*, so neither was it lawful to employ in the burnt Sacrifices any other

¹⁹ *Paul. L. v.*

²⁰ As the Altar could not be composed entirely of that Material, *Pausanias* can only mean in this Place, that it was daub'd, or crusted over, with a Kind of Mortar

made of *Alhes*; and, indeed, he soon after makes use of a Word which imports no more.

²¹ *Plut. de Orac. def.* ²² *Paul. L. v.*

²³ *Ibid.*

Wood than that of the White Poplar. The Original of this Custom is derived from *Hercules*, the Son of *Alcmæna*, who first brought that Tree into *Greece*, and made use of that Wood only in the Sacrifices, which he offer'd to *Olympian Jupiter*. Among the Ministers or Servants of the Altar there was one, whose Business it was to furnish those who came to sacrifice, as well Cities as private People, with these holy Faggots, at a certain Price.

Besides this Statue and Altar thus peculiarly belonging to the *Olympian Jupiter*, there were many more, both Altars and Statues, erected to the same God, under different Appellations; but as they have no Relation to the *Olympick Games*, I shall pass on (without taking any farther Notice of them) to some others, that always bore a Part in the Solemnities of this Festival. The Chief of these were six Altars, consecrated²⁴ by *Hercules* to Twelve Gods, who were always worshipped, two at each Altar, by the Conquerors in the *Olympick Games*. The first Altar was dedicated to *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, the second to *Juno* and *Minerva*, the third to *Mercury* and *Apollo*, the fourth to *Bacchus* and the *Graces*, the fifth to *Diana* and *Alpheus*, the sixth to *Saturn* and *Rhea*.

There were, besides, several other Altars, upon which the *Eleans* sacrificed on these Occasions; whose Names, as well as the Order of the Sacrifices, may be seen in *Pausanias*. To these may be added others, upon which, it is reasonable to suppose, some or other of the Competitors for the *Olympick Olive* made their Offerings, according as the Office of the several Divinities, to whom they were consecrated, related to the Exercises, in which they were severally to engage. Of this Number was the Altar of *Mercury*, call'd *Enagonius*, from his presiding over the Gymnastick Exercises; this, with another sacred to *Opportunity*, was placed near the Entrance of the Stadium. The Altar of the Nymphs, surnamed *Callistephani*, or the Nymphs presiding over the Crowns of Victory. The Altars of *Good Fortune*,

²⁴ Schol. ad Pind. Olym. Od. 6.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES.

XXV

of Victory, of *Taraxippus*, of *Neptune*, of *Cassio* and *Pollux*, and many others. And, indeed, there was not a Deity in the whole *Grecian* Calendar, who had not either a Temple or an Altar erected in the *Allis*, or sacred Territory, of *Jupiter*: as if the *Eleans* had resolved that their *Jupiter* should be in every Thing the Copy of *Jupiter* in *Homer*; and appear at *Olympia* with as large a Train of Deities, as was accustomed to attend his Summons upon Mount *Olympus*²⁵.

The *Ekecheiria*, or Cessation of Arms, which always accompanied the Celebration of the *Olympick* Games, comes properly under the Head of Religion, as it owed its Original to the Authority of the *Delphick* Oracle, and the religious Strictness, with which it seems in most Instances to have been observed, to the pious Respect and Veneration with which the *Greeks* regarded the august Solemnity of the *Olympick* Festival. All the Cities of *Greece*, as I have already shewn, paid their Devotions to *Jupiter* upon this Festival; which, however, in the Time of War some of them must have been necessitated to neglect, had not the God open'd the Passages to his Altar, and allow'd a Safe-conduct to his Votaries, by enjoining a Forbearance of Hostilities to all those, who were willing to partake of the Games instituted to his Honour.

It appears from a Passage of *Thucydides*, which I shall produce in a following Section, that the *Eleans* first proclaimed this Cessation of Arms in their own Territories, and then in the Cities of those States with whom they were at War; and that it took Place from the Time of the first Proclamation of it at *Elis*. This was the Method when the *Eleans* themselves happened to be engaged in a War; and I suppose that the same Method was observed, even when the *Eleans* were at Peace; the Cessation was proclaimed first in *Elis*, and then in those States, which were at War with each other, who were obliged to forbear all Acts of Hostility from the Date of that Proclamation; which

²⁵ See *Iliad* xx.

might easily have been known, if the Duration of this Truce was fixed and certain, as most probably it was. But, upon both these Points, we are reduced to mere Conjecture ; no ancient Writer, that I know of, having given us any clear Account of either. The Games, strictly speaking, held but five Days ; but the Candidates for the *Olympick* Crown were obliged to repair to *Elis* at least thirty Days before the Games ; yet, I think, it cannot from thence be certainly inferred, that the Cessation commenced thirty Days before that Festival : though, if it did not, we must suppose that a free Passage was granted, on all Sides, to those, who had enter'd their Names as Candidates for the *Olympick* Crown ; which they were obliged to do, some Time before they repaired in Person to *Elis*. Perhaps a carefull Examination of the Progress of the *Peloponnesian* War, a minute Detail of which is given by *Thucydides*, might throw some Light upon this Matter ; but as I have not Leisure for such an Inquiry, I shall leave it those, who may think it worth the while to engage in it. ²⁵ A Cessation of Hostilities for some Time, both before and after the *Olympick* Games, was doubtless necessary ; and the Advantages accruing from it to the whole *Grecian* Name were so apparent and so considerable, that the *Eleans* thought proper to distinguish *Iphitus*, the Author of it, by erecting a Statue to him, even in the Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*, with another emblematical Figure (for so I take it to have been) of a Woman named *Ekecheiria* (a *Greek* Word, signifying a Cessation of Arms) placing a Crown upon his Head.

Though, with respect to the other States of *Greece*, the Tranquillity enacted by the Laws of the *Olympick* Games was but short and temporary, the People of *Elis* had it in their Power to enjoy the Felicity even of a perpetual Peace, had they been wise enough to know how to use or value their Immunities. War could never approach their Territories, without drawing down upon the Invader ²⁶ the Ven-

²⁵ See *Thucyd.* L.v. c. 49.

²⁶ *Strabo*, L. viii.

geance of *Jupiter*. For *Oxylus*, being by the *Heraclices* re-inflated in *Elis*, the Kingdom of his Ancestors, and appointed Guardian, or Curator, of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, obtained of them, under the Sanction of an Oath, that the whole District of *Elis* should be consecrated to *Jupiter*; and that not only those who should invade it, but those also who should not defend it when invaded, should be deemed accursed. Hence it came to pass, that the *Eleans* not only neglected to fortify *Elis*, and their other Towns, but gave themselves up so entirely to Agriculture, and the Pleasures of a Country Life, that how wealthy soever they were grown, they could not, as, *Polybius* observes, be drawn from thence²⁷ to inhabit their Towns. The Consequence was, that *Elis* indeed grew rich and populous, but as at the same Time it lay naked and defenceless, those Riches served only to invite an Enemy, and that Populousness did but augment the Calamity of War; which, nevertheless, would hardly have fallen upon them, had they not, of their own Accord, departed from the Sanctity of their Character; and broken down those Fences of Religion, which the Oracle, and the general Consent of all *Greece* had planted round them. They could not, it seems, be contented with Peace, though the greatest of all Blessings, while it shackled their Ambition; nor were they willing to provide sufficiently against a War, at the Expence of forsaking their old Manner of living; to which, even in the midst of War, they were entirely addicted: they were, therefore, very justly censured by that wise Historian, for having so inconsiderately lost their Immunities; and very wisely admonished by him, to retire once more within that Magick Circle, which, in his Opinion, none would have been suffered to pass over with Impunity, had any one been daring and impious enough to have attempted it.

They enjoyed their Tranquillity, however, for a considerable Time, with some few Interruptions; occasioned by a Dispute between

²⁷ Lib. iv.

them, the *Pisians*, and *Arcadians*, relating to the Superintendency of the *Olympick Games* ²⁸. Yet so great a Regard did the *Grecians* in general pay to these holy People ²⁹, that when any Troops were to march through their Territories, upon their entering into the Borders of the *Eleans*, they delivered up their Arms, which were restored to them again upon their quitting that Country ³⁰. This State of Security and Peace, while the other Cities of *Greece* were confounding and destroying each other with mutual and intestine Wars ³¹, was accompanied with great Simplicity and Innocence of Manners, the usual Attendants of a Country Life; and *Elis*, the Earthly Kingdom of *Jupiter*, seems in this Point also to have resembled his heavenly Dominions; from whence, as we are told by *Homer* ³², that Deity had for ever banished *Até*, the Goddess of Discord and Injustice.

²⁸Paul. L. v. ²⁹Lib. xv. ³⁰Strab. L. viii. ³¹Polyb. L. iv. ³²IliadT. Pope's II. xix.

SECTION IV.

Of the Olympiad.

THOUGH the great Advantages accruing to History from the Institution of the *Olympiad* be universally acknowledged, yet have Historians taken no Notice of its Original. They have told us, indeed, that it was instituted by *Iphitus*, and that it was a Period or Cycle of four Years. The ridiculous Reason assigned for it by *Pausanias*, would induce one to believe that they knew no more; and yet it is certain, that the *Tetraeteris*, or Period of Four Years, was almost as old as the Religions of *Greece*, being used in divers of their *Sacra*, or Religious Festivals ¹; as the *Panathenæa*, *Musæa*, and many other, besides the *Olympick Games*. The Silence of the ancient Historians upon this Point is so remarkable, that a learned Mo-

¹ Sir I. Newton's Chron. p. 75.

den², who has been at infinite Pains to settle the Chronology of the Ancients, takes great Glory to himself for having discovered the true Source of this sacred Period; and unravelled all the Intricacies of the *Olympiad*. From him, therefore, I shall borrow chiefly what I have to say upon this Head.

The *Greeks*, inquiring of the *Delphick Oracle* concerning their solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, received for Answer, that they would do well to sacrifice *κατὰ τὰ Παγία, καὶ κατὰ Τρία, according to the Customs of their Fathers, and according to Three Things*. Which last Words they interpreted to signify Days, Months, and Years. They accordingly set themselves about regulating their Years by the Sun, and their Months and Days by the Appearances of the Moon³. By this Method, they were in hopes so to order their Festivals, and Times of Sacrifice, as always to make their Offerings precisely upon the same Days, and the same Months in the Year; which, they imagined, would be pleasing and acceptable to the Gods, and consequently believed that to be the Intention of the Oracle. This, however, could only happen when the solstitial Conversions of the Sun, and the *Æquinoctials* should return to the same Places in the Calendar Year. After trying in vain many Forms and Combinations of Years, in order to fulfill the Oracle, they at length hit upon one, which seemed to them admirably calculated to solve all Difficulties, and answer their Purpose. Their Year was made to consist of 360 Days, with two additional Days; and their Months of thirty Days each; from one of which, however, in the Course of four Years, they took a Day; by this means their *Tetraeteris* amounted to 1447 Days. Sometimes a whole Month was intercalated, and then the *Tetraeteris* consisted of 1477 Days. And thus they flattered themselves that they had punctually fulfilled the Oracle; for they sacrificed according to the Year and the Month, because the Month was full, as consisting of thirty Days; and the Years thus made up of

² Jo. Scaliger, *Animad. ad Euf. Chron.* No. 1241. ³ *Gemines apud Sir I. Newton, Chron.* p. 72.

xxx : A DISSERTATION ON

complete Months, by means of these Intercalations returned to their Beginnings, at least pretty near the Matter. And this is the Reason that the great Festivals of the *Greeks* were solemnized every Fifth Year, after an Interval of four complete Years ; as, for Example, the *Panathenaea* at *Athens*, and the *Olympick* Games in *Elis*, which were celebrated every Fifth Year upon the Full of the Moon. This last Circumstance *Pindar* ⁴ alone hath discovered to us ; and his Scholiast at the same time informs us, that those Games were sometimes celebrated in the Nine and fortieth, and sometimes in the Fiftieth Month ; that is, sometimes in the Month which the *Eleans* call *Apollonius* ; and sometimes in that named by them *Parthenius* ; which seem to answer to our Months of *July* and *August*. Accordingly we find by *Scaliger's* Tables, that the *Olympick* New Moon fell sometimes in the Middle, or latter End, of *July*, and sometimes in the Beginning of *August*, for that Festival never preceded the Summer Solstice ; which the Ancients placed always upon the 9th of *July*, so that the *Olympick* Moon was the first New Moon after the Summer Solstice. This gave Birth to the intercalary Month, and occasioned the Variation in the *Tetractæris*, which consisted sometimes of forty-eight Months, and sometimes of forty-nine.

This is the Doctrine of the *Olympiad*, without a perfect Knowledge of which, it will be but Labour lost, says *Scaliger*, to go about settling the *Grecian* Chronology.

And indeed, as the *Olympiad* is the only *Æra* which the *Greek* Writers make use of, it will be difficult for a Man to understand the Dates of Facts mentioned by their Historians, or to accommodate their Chronology to that of other Nations, without his previously knowing both the precise Time of the Year on which every new *Olympiad* began, and the Number of Years and Months of which that Period consisted.

⁴ *Olym.* Ode 3.

But

THE OLYMPICK GAMES.

xxxii

But how necessary a thorough Understanding of the *Olympiad* is to those in particular, who engage in chronological Inquiries, may be easily imagined from its great Usefulness in such Kind of Searches; the Consideration of which transported the great *Scaliger* almost beyond his Sense and Reason. For having pursued his Inquiry from the first Original, or Chaos, if I may so speak, of History, amid the Glimmerings of an ambiguous and allegorical Tradition; the Monsters of a fabulous and Hieroglyphick Age, and the devious and perplexed Conjectures of Chronologists, coming at last to the *Olympiads*, like one, who, after having wandered all Night in a wide and pathless Forest, unexpectedly discovers, at Break of Day, a fair and open Causeway leading through a rich and cultivated Country, thick set with towns and Villages, breaks out into the following Rapture:

“ O ! how fortunate is it, that the ancient *Greeks* should take it into
 “ their Heads to celebrate, with so much Devotion, every fifth
 “ Year, their *Olympick* Games. Hail ! venerable *Olympiad* ! thou
 “ Guardian of Dates and *Æras* ! Assertrix of historical Truth, and
 “ Curb of the fanatical Licentiousness of Chronologists ! Were it
 “ not for thee, all things would still be covered under the black
 “ Veil of Darkness ; since there are many, even at this Day, whose
 “ Eyes are dazzled and blinded at thy Lustre ! By thy means, not
 “ those things only, that have happened since thy Institution, but
 “ those also that were done before thee, are brought to light ; as the
 “ Destruction of *Troy*, the Return of the *Heracides*, the *Ionick*
 “ Migration, and many other ; for the Knowledge of which we are
 “ indebted to thy divine Assistance ; by the Help of which, also,
 “ we are enabled to fix the Dates and Epochas of the holy Scrip-
 “ tures ; notwithstanding what silly and ignorant People advance,
 “ who say, that without the holy Scriptures there would be no
 “ coming at the Knowledge of thy Epocha ; than which nothing
 “ can be imagined more absurd and monstrous.”

But notwithstanding this enthusiastic Exclamation, Chronologers are far from being agreed about the precise Time, upon which the

Olympiads

Olympiads began ; some dating them from the Victory of *Coræbus* the *Elean*, and others ⁵ throwing their Original thirteen, and even eight and twenty *Olympiads* backward. But this was done by the artificial Chronologers, who, to accommodate the *Olympiads* to their Systems and Computations, have added to their Antiquity 112 Years, as Sir *I. Newton* ⁶ observes. This great Man has thought it worth his while to examine their Hypothesis, and to endeavour to establish the old Chronology upon surer and better Principles. I will not presume to say whether he has succeeded in his Endeavours or not : that must be decided by far much abler and more learned Men. In the mean time, I think it a piece of Homage due to the acknowledged Supremacy, if I may so speak, of his Abilities, from one, who in this Case must submit to the Authority of others, to prefer the Authority of Sir *I. Newton*, before that of any other Name in the World.

Chronologists, however, in all their Computations agree to reckon downward from that *Olympiad* in which *Coræbus* the *Elean* was Conqueror ; with whom also the List of Conquerors begins. This List is very useful, since the *Greek* Writers frequently mark the *Olympiad* by no other Designation than the Name of the Conqueror.

Before I conclude this Section, it will not be amiss to take Notice, that *Eusebius* tells us from *Africanus*, that the Word *Olympia*, in the *Aegyptian* Language, signifies the Moon ; which was so called, because once in every Month she runs through the Zodiac named *Olympus* by the old *Aegyptians*. This Etymology of the *Olympiad*, though mentioned by no other Author, will appear the more probable, when we consider that the *Olympiad* was a Lunar Cycle, corrected, indeed, by the Course of the Sun ; and that the *Greeks* had their *Tetralæteris* from *Aegypt* ⁷ ; out of which fertile Nursery they likewise transplanted their Arts and Sciences, their Learning and Philosophy, their Religion and their Gods.

⁵ Euf. Chron. ⁶ Chron. p. 57. ⁷ See Scaliger in Euf. Chron. and Newton's Chron.

SECTION V.

Of the Hellanodicks, or Presidents of the Olympick Games.

THE Right of presiding at the *Olympick* Games was attended with such Dignity and Power, that the *Eleans*, who had been in Possession of it even from the Time of *Iphitus*, were more than once obliged to maintain their Title by Force of Arms against their Neighbours and Rivals, the *Pisæans* and *Arcadians*: whose Pretensions, tho' founded, as *Diodorus Siculus*¹ observes, upon no better Authorities than old Fables and antiquated Precedents, were yet esteemed, by these envious or ambitious People, sufficient to authorize a War, and justify their breaking through those sacred Laws, which enjoined a Cessation of Arms to all the States of *Greece*, during the *Olympick* Festival²: for in one of these Quarrels, the *Pisæans*, joining with the *Arcadians*, who were then at War with the *Eleans*, entered the Territories of *Elis* at the very Time of the Celebration of the *Olympick* Games, and being met by the *Eleans*, who immediately took to their Arms, there ensued a very sharp Engagement, in the View of all the *Grecians*, who were assembled from all Parts to see the Games; and who stood peaceably and aloof from Danger, with their Garlands upon their Heads, looking upon the Battle; and distinguishing, by Acclamations and Applauses, every Action of Bravery on either Side. The *Pisæans*, in the Conclusion having obtained the Victory, presided for that Time over the Solemnity; but the *Eleans*, afterwards recovering their Privilege, left that *Olympiad* out of their Register. They had twice or thrice before obliterated, in like Manner those *Olympiads*, in which the *Pisæans* had presided; 'till irritated at length by the frequent Revival of these groundless Pre-

¹ Lib. xv. c. 9.² Ibid.

tensions, supported only by Violence, they, in their Turn, made an Irruption into the Country of the *Pisæans*, and destroyed the City of *Pisa* so utterly, that *Pausanias* says, in his Time there was not so much as a Ruin remaining ; the whole Space of Ground, upon which that City had stood, being converted into a Vineyard. The City of *Olympia*, indeed, was in the Territory of the *Pisæans*³, but was taken from them by the *Heracides* ; (who, upon their Return, made a new Division of the *Peloponnesus*) and was given to the *Eleans*. The *Pisæans* might from hence derive a Claim to *Olympia*, but could never found any Right of superintending those Games, of which the *Eleans* were the Founders, as, *Strabo* observes, and over which they were appointed to preside by the express Commands of the *Delphick* Oracle.

The Office of *Hellandick*, or President, was at first exercised by *Iphitus* alone⁴ ; and continued for the Space of 200 Years to be executed by a single Person, who was always of the Family of *Oxylus* : but in the 50th *Olympiad* the Superintendancy of the Games was committed to Two, chosen by Lot out of the whole Body of the *Eleans* ; and in the 75th, the Number was increased to Nine ; Three of which had the Direction of the Equestrian Exercises, Three presided at the Pentathlon, and the remaining Three had the Inspection of the other Games. Two *Olympiads* after, a Tenth was added ; and in the 103d *Olympiad*, the College of *Hellandicks* consisted of Twelve, answering to the Tribes of the *Eleans*, out of each of which was chosen one *Hellandick*. The *Arcadians* shortly after, having vanquished the *Eleans*, took from them part of their Territory ; by which means the Number of their Tribes, and that of the *Hellandicks*, was reduced to Eight ; but in the 108th *Olympiad* they returned to the former Number of Ten, and kept to it ever after.

I cannot find precisely, at what Time the *Hellandicks* entered into Office ; nor how long they continued in it. *Pausanias*⁵ informs

³ Strab. L. viii.

⁴ Paus. L. v.

⁵ Lib. vi.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES.

xxxv

us, that for ten Months preceding the Games they dwelt together at *Elis* in a House appointed for them, and from thence called the *Hellandice* : at which Time, I think, one may very reasonably fix the Date of their Commission. These ten Months they employed in qualifying themselves for the high and important Character of Judges of all *Greece*, as their Title imports : for which End they were carefully instructed in every Particular of their Duty by a Set of Officers, called the Guardians of the Laws ; and attended daily in the *Gymnasium* upon the preparatory Exercises of all those, who were admitted to be Candidates for the *Olympick* Crown. These were obliged to enter their Names at least ten Months before that Festival, and to employ Part, if not the whole, of that Time at *Elis*, in exercising themselves ; as shall be set forth more fully in a following Section. This Time of Preparation was not more serviceable to the Candidates than to the *Hellandicks* themselves ; who were by this Means furnished with frequent Opportunities of trying their own Abilities, exerting their Authority, and sliding, as it were, imperceptibly into the Exercise of that Office, which, as it placed them upon a Tribunal to which all *Greece* was subject, exposed them at the same Time to the Observation and Scrutiny of a most awful and innumerable Assembly, whose Censure they could not hope to escape, but by the strictest and most exact Impartiality.

But as there are other Requisites towards the obtaining the Character of a wise and impartial Judge, besides the Knowledge and Practice of the Laws, the *Hellandicks* took all imaginable Precautions to keep their Judgments from any Biass, by prohibiting any of their Collegues from contending in the Equestrian Exercises ; by making it a Law to themselves, not to open any of the recommendations Letters brought to them by the *Athletes* till after the Contest was over ; and by laying themselves under the Obligation of an Oath, to proceed according to the strictest Equity in those Cases, wherein they were left to the Direction of their Consciences alone ⁶.

⁶ Paul. L. v.

This Oath was administered to them in the Senate House of the *Eleans*, before the Statue of *Jupiter Horcius*, upon their finishing the Examination of the Boys, and the *under-aged Horses*, that offered themselves to contend in the *Olympick Stadium*; the Reason of which shall be assigned in another Place. That they were sworn also upon their entering into Office is very probable, though not mentioned by any Author. Another Check upon the *Hellandicks* was the Liberty allowed to any one who thought himself aggrieved, of appealing from their Sentence to the Senate of *Elis*; an Instance of which is to be met with in *Pausanias*. *Eupolinus*, an *Elean*, having been declared Victor in the Foot-Race by two of the three *Hellandicks*, who presided over that Exercise, and the third having given Sentence in Favour of his Antagonist, *Leon* of *Ambracia*, *Leon* appealed to the Senate of *Elis*, and accused the two *Hellandicks* of Corruption. It appears, however, that their Sentence was ratified by the Senate; since we find the Name of *Eupolinus* in the List of Conquerors, and an Account in *Pausanias* of a Statue erected to him in *Olympia*.

Their allowing their Countrymen to dispute the Prize with those of other Nations, was objected to the *Eleans* by a King of *Aegypt*⁷, to whom, in the Pride of their Integrity, they had sent an Embassy to give an Account of the *Olympick Games*; and to set forth the consummate Equity of the Laws and Ordinances of that Institution. That Monarch was persuaded they could never preserve their boasted Impartiality, when the Glory of one of their own Countrymen came into Competition with that of a Stranger; and therefore advised them to amend their Institution, by excluding all *Eleans*: but they did not think fit to follow his Advice; and assured themselves, perhaps, that over and above the particular and private Obligations of Conscience, Interest, and Honour, the Consideration of the greater Glory, that would accrue to their Country from a disinterested and universal Impartiality in their Awards, would more than countervail the Advantages, whether publick or private, which might

⁷ Herodot. L. ii.

arise from the Victory or Renown of one of their Countrymen. However they might reason, they most certainly acted well ; as may be inferred no less from the concurrent Testimony, than from the absolute Submission of all *Greece* to their Authority and Decrees.

The Direction and ordering of all Matters relating to the *Olympick Festival*, the proclaiming the Cessation of Arms, the excluding from the Sacrifices those, who had incurred the Penalty of Excommunication by refusing to submit to their Censures ; the increasing or diminishing the Number of the Exercises, &c. belonged, as I imagine, to the *Hellanodicks* as well as the superintending the Games, and bestowing the Olive Crown ; for I understand those Authors, who attribute these Powers to the *Eleans* in general, to mean the *Hellandicks*, who were, for that Time and Occasion the Delegates and Representatives of the *Eleans*.

This Power of excommunicating those who were refractory or contumacious, which seems to have been exercised upon whole Nations, rather than particular Persons, gave the *Hellanodicks* great Dignity and Authority among the several People of *Greece* ; as the corporal Punishments and pecuniary Penalties inflicted by their Orders upon private Offenders, held even the greatest in dread of infringing the *Olympick* Laws ; and kept in Order that vast Assembly, which was composed of Men of all Ranks and Degrees, and of every Region and Colony of *Greece*.

That the *Hellanodicks*, in the publick Execution of their Office, were clothed in Purple Robes, and carried in their Hands that usual Ensign of Magistracy, a Wand, or Sceptre, seems very probable, from several Passages collected by *Faber*, in his *Agonisticon*^s ; who would infer, likewise, from some other Passages cited by him, that they wore Crowns ; which I will not dispute any otherwise than by observing, that from one of those Passages, which I have quoted at the Beginning of this Section, it appears, that all the *Grecians* who assisted at the *Olympick* Games, were adorned with

^s Lib. i.

Crowns, or Garlands ; and, I believe, that Ornament was generally wore by all who attended at any publick Sacrifice.

The *Hellanodicks* took their Stations at different Parts of the *Stadium*. By the *Hellanodicks* in this Place, I mean those Committees of them, if I may so speak, who were appointed to superintend the several Exercises ; who were consequently obliged to attend them, in those Parts of the *Stadium* where they were exhibited. The others, I suppose, remained in their proper Place⁹, over-against the Priestesses of *Ceres*. The senior *Hellanodick* had the Precedency of the rest.

I shall not detain the Reader with enumerating the subordinate Officers ; they will be occasionally introduced in the following Sections : but shall proceed to exemplify the Authority of this high Tribunal, and the Regard paid to it by all *Greece*, from one or two Instances mentioned by the Historians.

The first I shall borrow from *Pausanias*¹⁰. *Calippus*, an *Athenian*, having been convicted of corrupting with Money his Adversaries in the Exercise of the *Pentathlon*, the *Hellanodicks* imposed a considerable Fine upon each of the Offenders : the *Athenians*, being informed of this Sentence, out of Regard to their Fellow Citizen deputed *Hyperides*, one of their greatest Orators, to go to the *Eleans*, and intreat them to remit the Fine : but they were not to be moved, either by the Rhetorick of *Hyperides* or the Haughtiness of the *Athenians* ; who, with great Disdain, refused to submit to the Decree, though for that Refusal they were excluded the *Olympick* Games, 'till they were told by the *Delphick* Oracle, that the God would not vouchsafe them any Answer to their Inquiries, unless they paid the Penalty demanded by the *Eleans*. The *Athenians* submitted, and the *Eleans* with the Money erected six Statues to *Olympick Jupiter*.

The next is taken out of *Thucydides*, and tho' somewhat long, tends to illustrate so many Particulars relating to my Subject, that I cannot forbear inserting it at large.

⁹ Paus. L. vi.

¹⁰ Lib. v.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. xxxix

This Summer were celebrated the *Olympick* Games ; in which *Androthenes*, the *Arcadian*, bore away the Prize for the first Time in the *Pancratium*; and the *Lacedæmonians* were by the *Eleans* excluded the Festival ; and not permitted either to sacrifice or contend in the Games, because they refused to pay the Penalty, which the *Eleans*, agreeably to the *Olympick* Laws, had imposed upon them, for having attacked a certain Castle named *Phyrus*, and put Soldiers into *Leprus* during the *Olympick* Truce. The *Lacedæmonians* on their part asserted, by their Ambassadors, that they were condemned unjustly ; alledging, that the Truce had not been notified in *Sparta*, at the Time of their sending their Troops to *Leprus*. The *Eleans* on the other hand pretended, that the Truce had at that very Time taken place with them ; that they always proclaim it first in their own Territories ; and that having, under the Sanction of that Truce, laid down their Arms, and expected no farther Hostilities, the *Lacedæmonians* had taken that Opportunity to do them an Injury, as it were, by Stealth. In answer to this, it was urged by the *Lacedæmonians*, that the *Eleans*, after they had thought themselves injured by the *Lacedæmonians*, ought not to have notified the Truce at all at *Sparta* ; which nevertheless, as if they had then no such Opinion of the Matter, they had done, after which Notification the *Lacedæmonians* had not committed any Hostilities. But the *Eleans* still adhered to their Decree, and would never be induced to own that the *Lacedæmonians* had done them no Wrong. They offered, however, if they would deliver up *Leprus*, to remit their own Share of the Fine, and to lay down for them that Portion of it which belonged to *Jupiter*. The *Lacedæmonians* not consenting to this Proposal, the *Eleans* farther offered, that the *Lacedæmonians* should not be obliged to deliver up *Leprus*, contrary to their Inclinations, provided they would go up to the Altar of *Olympian Jupiter*, since they were so desirous of partaking in the Sacrifice, and there, in the Presence of all the *Greeks*, swear that they would afterwards pay the

the Penalty imposed upon them. But neither to this Proposal would the *Lacedæmonians* agree ; wherefore they were excluded the Festival, the Sacrifices, and the Games ; and made the accustomed Offerings to *Olympian Jupiter* in their own Territories, while all the other States of *Greece*, except that of *Lepreus*, sent their Offerings by a solemn Deputation to *Olympia*. The *Eleans*, however, fearing the *Lacedæmonians* might attempt by open Violence to perform their Sacrifices, kept their young Men under Arms upon constant Guard ; to whose Assistance the City of *Argos* sent a thousand Soldiers, and *Mantineæ* another thousand ; there were also some *Athenian* Horse quartered in *Argos* during the Festival.

There happened also another Circumstance, which put the whole Assembly into a great Consternation, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should fall upon them. One *Lichas*, a *Lacedæmonian*, the Son of *Arcefilus*, was scourged publicly in the *Stadium* by the Officers appointed for that Purpose ; because, his Chariot having obtained the Victory, and having in the Proclamation of the Conquerors been declared to belong to the *Thebans* (the *Lacedæmonians* being at that Time excluded the Games) he had entered the *Stadium*, and with his own Hand placed a Chaplet on the Head of his Charioteer ; giving to understand by that Action, that the Chariot belonged to him. Every Body therefore was exceedingly alarmed ; and concluded that this Affair would have some very extraordinary Consequence. The *Lacedæmonians*, however, kept quiet ; and the Festival passed over without any Disturbance.

I shall close this Section with an Observation, that arises naturally from these two last cited Passages, *viz.* That the great Dignity and Authority of the *Hellænodicks* was founded solely upon this Power of Excommunication ; in the Exercise of which, however derived to them at the Beginning, they were supported by the joint Concurrence of the Gods, as well as of the Men of *Greece*. On the one hand we behold the States of *Albens*, *Argos*, and *Mantineæ*, sending Troops

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. xli

to maintain their Sentence against the *Lacedemonians*; and the *Delphick* Oracle, on the other, refusing to give any Answers to the *Atbemarians*, till the Fine imposed by the *Hellandicks* upon one of their Citizens, was discharged. Thus were the two most powerfull and martial States of *Greece* subjected, in their Turns, to the Authority of a petty and unwarlike People; which, possibly, we should have some Difficulty to believe, were there not many modern Examples of mightier, if not wiser Nations, than either of the two above-mentioned, having been awed into a Submission to a Power still more insignificant than that of *Ellis*, by the same edgeless Arms, the same *brutum Fulmen*. Whether the Thunders of the *Vatican* were forged in Imitation of those of *Olympian Jupiter*, I will not determine; tho' I must take notice, that many of the Customs and Ordinances of the *Roman Church* allude most evidently to many practised in the *Olympick Stadium*, as *Extreme Unction*, the *Palm*, and the *Crown* of Martyrs, and others; which may be seen at large in *Faber's Agonisticon*.

SECTION VI.

Of the Games, and of the Olympick Stadium.

HOW sumptuous and magnificent soever may have been the Sacrifices, and the Ceremonies of the Worship paid by the *Grecians* to *Olympian Jupiter*, yet may we venture to conclude, that the vast Concourse of People, who at the Time of that Festival usually resorted to *Olympia* from all Parts of the World, was chiefly owing to the Games, which always accompanied that Solemnity; and that by far the greater Number came more out of Curiosity than Devotion. It is, at least, this Part of the Institution that makes the most considerable Figure in the Histories and Antiquities of *Greece*, and presents itself upon all Occasions principally, if not singly,

xlii A DISSERTATION ON

singly, to our Minds ; while, like the Spectators of a triumphant Procession, we look upon the Pomp of Sacrifice, the Herds of Victims, the Train of Priests, and even the Gods themselves, as so many Accompaniments only, and ornamental Parts of the Ceremony, and turn our Eyes to the Conqueror, whose Glory and whose Victories engross all our Thoughts and Attention. How just this Observation may be, with regard to the ancient *Greeks*, I will not here determine ; but among the Moderns, I believe, there are very few, and those Men of Learning only, who either think or know any Thing of the *Religious Part* of this Institution ; which, for that Reason probably, is now never mentioned under any other Title but that of the *Olympick Games*. The remaining Part, therefore, of this *Dissertation* shall be wholly taken up with an Inquiry into the Nature, Laws, &c. of those Games ; in which if, for Want of Materials, I should not be able to give the Reader all the Satisfaction he may expect to find, yet enough, I hope, will be said, to give him a juster Idea of these famous Games, than he may hitherto have conceived ; to lessen his Contempt, at least, if not excite his Admiration, for a Set of Conquerors, whom their Countrymen thought worthy of great Honours and Immunities ; and to shew, that even in the Institution of these Sports, which seems at first Sight to have been calculated only for the Amusement of the Vulgar, a judicious Observer may discover many Strokes of that Civil Wisdom and Policy, which we have been taught to look for among the Philosophers and Law-givers of *Greece*.

Before I enter upon this Inquiry into the Games, it will be necessary to mention a few Particulars relating to the Place in which they were exhibited. This, by the *Greeks*, was named the *Stadium* ; a Word, signifying a Measure of Length consisting of somewhat above an hundred *English Paces* ; which being equal to the Space of Ground allotted for the Foot Race, the Course was from thence called

* See Arbuthnot's Tables.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. xliii

the *Stadium*, and the Racers were named *Stadieis*, or *Stadiodromi*. The *Eleans*, indeed, pretended, that the *Stadium* at *Olympia* was measured by the Foot of *Hercules*, which being longer than that of an ordinary Man, made their *Stadium* longer than any other in the same Portion.

*Pausanias*² informs us, that the *Olympick Stadium* was a Terrace composed of Earth ; on one Side of which was the Seat of the *Helladicks*, and over-against them on the other was an Altar of white Marble, upon which the Priestess of *Ceres Chamyne*, and some Virgins, had the Priviledge to sit and view the Games. At the farther End of the *Stadium* was the Barrier, whence those who ran the *single Foot-Race* began their Course ; and there, according to the Tradition of the *Eleans*, was the Tomb of *Endymion*.

These are all the Particulars concerning the *Olympick Stadium*, that are to be found in *Pausanias* ; for what follows in the Passage just quoted, relates only to the Horse Course, and shall be produced when I come to speak of the Horse Races. But, to assist the Reader in forming a more perfect Judgment of the *Stadium*, than the foregoing Account, taken from *Pausanias*, can enable him to make, I shall add, from *Wheeler's Travels*, a Description of the Remains of that at *Athens*, which was built by *Herodes Atticus* : “ The Figure (says he) and Bigness of this *Stadium* continue, although the Degrees [Steps] be all taken away. It is a long Place, with two parallel Sides, closed up circularly at the East End, and open towards the other End ; and is about one hundred twenty-five Geometrical Paces long, and twenty-six or twenty-seven broad, which gave it the Name of a *Stadium*, that Length being the ordinary Measure among the *Greeks* ; eight of which made a *Roman Mile*. “ Mr *Vernon* measuring it exactly, found it to be six hundred and thirty *English* Feet long ; and a just *Stadium* is six hundred and twenty-five Feet of *Athenian* Measure ; which, it seems, was but

² Lib. vi.

xliv A DISSERTATION ON

“very little bigger than the *English*, but lesser than the *French* Foot.
“When *Pausanias* comes to speak of this Place, he tells his Readers,
“that they would hardly believe what he was about to tell them, it
“being a Wonder to all those that did see it in ancient Times ; and
“of that Bigness, that one would judge it a Mountain of white Marble, upon the Banks of the River *Ilissus*. It was *Herodes Atticus*,
“one of the richest Citizens *Athens* ever had, that built it : to do
“which he consumed much of the Marble of Mount *Pentelicus* ;
“which now being either all carried away, or buried in the Ruins
“of the Place, it looks now only like a great and high Bulwark cast
“up in that Form. At the End towards *Ilissus*, there appears yet
“some Stone Work ; the rest is now but a *Stadium* of Earth above
“Ground.”

Tho’ the *Olympick Stadium* does not appear to have been so splendid as this of *Athens*, or another at *Delphi*, built likewise of Marble by the same magnificent Citizen of *Athens*, yet we may suppose they were all formed upon the same Model, as they were all destined to the same Use. In the *Stadium* were exhibited those Games, which are properly called *Gymnastick*.

At either End of the Course stood a Pillar, the Use of which it may be proper to explain ; as also to take Notice of the several Appellations by which these Parts of the *Stadium* were distinguished, viz. the *Barrier* and the *Goal* ; at one of which the Race began, and was finished at the other : but this must be understood only of the *simple Foot Race*, or that instituted by *Iphitus* ; for afterwards (in the 14th *Olympiad*) as Men grew more exercised, and the Reputation of these Games increased, the *Diaulus* was added. This was also a Foot Race, whose Course was double the former ; that is, two *Stadiums*, as the Word implies. They who ran the *Diaulus*, therefore, or *double Stadium*, turned round the Pillar erected for that Purpose at the End of the *Stadium*, and returned to the Barrier, where they finished their Race.

The

The Barrier was at first marked with a strait Line, traced along the Ground from one Side of the *Stadium* to the other : by this Line were drawn up in a Row all the Racers, and from thence they began their Race ; from which Custom the Barrier, or Starting Place, was called *Grammé*, or the *Line*. This Word is also used to signify the End or Termination of the Course ; and in fact, the *Diauius*, and all the other Races, except the *simple Foot Race*, ended at this *Line* ; which, I suppose, is the true Reason of this Usage of the Word *Grammé*. The same may be said with regard to the other Names of the *Barrier* and *Stadium*, which are likewise used in both Senses.

In Proceſs of Time a Cord was made use of, either conjointly with the *Line* or *Grammé*, or, instead of it, to restrain the Impatience of the Racers, and keep them from pressing forwards one before another. This Cord, which was stretched across the *Stadium*, at the Signal given was let fall at once, and at the same Instant the Racers started from this Cord, called ὤστραγγος or ὤστραγγος in *Greek*, from the Resemblance between the Noise made by the sudden falling of the Cord, and the Crack of a Whip, which is the primary Signification of ὤστραγγος, the Barrier received another Name.

The other Extremity of the *Stadium* had also different Appellations, with whose Erymologies I shall not trouble the Reader. It is sufficient to observe, that both the Names and their Erymologies arose from the different Views in which the End of the *Stadium* was considered. To those who ran the *simple Foot Race* it was the End and Termination of the Course in all the other Races : the Racers turned at this End of the *Stadium* round a Pillar, in order to return to the Barrier, where the *Diaulodromi*, or those who ran the *Diauius*, ended their Race : but the *Dolichodromi*, or Runners in the Race called *Dolichos*, or the *Long Course*, when they came to the Barrier, turned again round the Pillar erected at that End also, in order to continue their Course, which consisted of many *Diaui*, or *Doublings of the Stadium*, as shall be more fully explained hereafter. It is proper, however, to take Notice of one of the Names given to this Extremity

xlvi A DISSERTATION ON

tremity of the *Stadium*; because from the Explanation of it in *Polux* we learn, that the Exercises of the *Pentathlon* were performed in this Part, which was called *Bater*.

Having now produced all the Particulars relating to the Place in which the Gymnastick Exercises were performed, that I could collect, or that appeared necessary for the better understanding what is to follow; I shall, in the next Place, proceed to give a distinct Account of those several Exercises: of which I shall treat in the Order in which they were introduced into the *Olympick Stadium*.

SECTION VII.

Of the Foot Races.

THE Description of the *Stadium* hath let us into so many Particulars of the Foot Race, that I shall add very little upon that Head, besides an Enumeration of the several Kinds of Foot Races, and the Laws and Rules observed by the Competitors in that Exercise.

The first, and indeed the only Exercise revived by *Iphitus*, was the *simple Foot Race*, named the *Stadium*, from the Length of the Course, as has already been observed. *Corebus* the *Elean* stands at the Head of the List of Conquerors in this Exercise; and from them were the *Olympiads* most commonly denominated: for after the *Greeks* had taken up the Custom of dating historical Events from the *Olympiads*, they seldom failed, together with the Number of the *Olympiad*, to cite the Name of the Conqueror: thus, for Example, to denote the precise Time of the Battle of *Thermopylae*, they would have told us, that it happened in the first Year of the 75th *Olympiad*, *Scamander* of *Mitylene* being Conqueror in the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot Race*; which is always signified by that Word in the List of *Olympick* Conquerors. The Number of the *Olympiad* was sometimes omitted, and
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THE OLYMPICK GAMES. xlvi

the *Olympiad* distinguished by no other Mark than the Name of the Conqueror. A sufficient Evidence of the great Notice which all the different People of *Greece* were supposed to take of those Victories; and an Honour so much the more flattering to the Conquerors, as he was assured it would not only be diffused over all the Parts of the known World, and cited upon many publick Occasions, but delivered down to the latest Posterity in the Records and Annals of Chronologists and Historians. This honorary Distinction, thus appropriated to the Victors in the *Stadium*, was undoubtedly owing at first to the Want of Rivals to dispute it with them; and continued to them afterwards out of respect to the Antiquity and Seniority of that Exercise: tho' their Victories were obtained with less Pains, and consequently with less Merit, than those in almost any of the other Games.

In the 14th *Olympiad* was added the *Diaulus*, or *double Stadium*, which I have explained above; and in the next *Olympiad* the *Dolichus*, or *Long Course*. In the two former Exercises Fleetness, or Agility, seems to be the only Quality requisite for obtaining the Crown; but in this Exercise, whose Course consisted of seven, or twelve, or even of twenty-four *Stadia* (for those different Measures are assigned to the *Dolichus* by different Authors^r) besides Agility and Swiftmess, a great Strength of Body and a long Wind was necessary for the holding out through so long a Course: besides, as the *Dolichodromi* were obliged to make many short Turnings round the Pillars erected at each End of the *Stadium*, the Labour of the Race was considerably increased, and the Activity and Skill of the Racer put to more frequent and severer Trials than in the two former Races. But notwithstanding the Length of this Course, and the Swiftmess necessary to gain the Victory in the other two, there are Instances of People, in whom the two Qualities of Agility and Strength, but seldom found together, were yet so eminent as to enable them to obtain the

^r Potter's Antiq. and Cælius Rhod.

xlviïï A DISSERTATION ON

Crown in all the three Races in one and the same Day. Of this Number were *Polites* of *Ceramus*, and *Leonidas* of *Rhodes* ²; but the latter was by far the most remarkable, having obtained this triple Victory for four *Olympiads* together, and distinguished himself from the whole List of Conquerors by the Gain of twelve *Olympick* Crowns.

From a Passage of *Pausanias* ³ relating to the former of these two Conquerors it appears, that the *Racers* did not start altogether, but that they run in Classes, or Divisions, to which they were appointed by Lot; and the Victors in each Division ran afterwards together for the Prize; and this Custom seems, by the last Words of the Sentence, to be confined to the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot Race*. And indeed, that Course was so short, that it is no Wonder the *Eleans* judged it proper, upon that Occasion, to multiply a little the Labour of the Competitors; especially when they were sure to augment, in the same proportion, both the Glory of the Victor and the Pleasure of the Spectators. There is another Particular relating to the *simple Foot Race*, intimated in a Passage of *Themistius*, cited by *Faber* ⁴, which the Passage just now quoted from *Pausanias* will help us to understand. It seems to have been this: the *Racers* having been distributed by Lot into several Classes, two of those Classes started at the same Time, and run on different Sides of the *Stadium*, which was divided into two Roads, or Courses, by the Pillars erected at each End. This Conjecture, for it is no better, is rendered more probable by the following Words of *Statius*, *Thebais*, L. vi. wherein it is said, that *Idas* in the Race having laid hold of his Antagonist *Parthenopæus* by the Hair, and pulled him back as he was just coming into the Goal before him, the Victory was adjudged to neither, but the Competitors were obliged to run the Race over again; and in order to prevent the like Fraud a second Time, they were appointed to run on different Sides of the Course.

² Paus. L. vi. c. 13.

³ L. vi.

⁴ Agon. L. ii. c. 34.

Furit undique clamor

*Dissonus ; ambiguumque senis cunctatur Adraſti
Conſilium : tandem ipſe reſert, Compelſcite litem,*

O Pueri ; virtus iterum tentanda, ſed ite

Limite non uno : latus hoc conceditur Idæ :

In diverſa tene. Fraus curſibus omnis abeſto.

As the *Olympick* Games were a very ſolemn Feſtival, and were celebrated only every *ſiſth* Year ; and as almoſt every ſingle Man throughout *Greece* was ambitious of obtaining the Honour of an *Olympick* Crown, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the Number of Competitors in every kind of Exerciſe was very conſiderable, eſpecially in the *ſimple Foot-Race* ; the lighteſt of them all. And this might put the *Eleans* upon the two above-mentioned Methods ; by the firſt of which the Confuſion and other Inconveniencies ariſing from a Croud of People running all together in a narrow Space were prevented ; and by the ſecond ſome *Time* was ſaved, which they were under a Neceſſity of huſbanding as much as poſſible, conſidering that only *ſix Days* were allotted for the Games ; in ſome of which the Conteſt might often happen to be drawn out into a great Length, as the previous Apparatus to each of them muſt needs have taken up a great deal of Time.

Tho' the Deciſion of *Adraſtus*, in the above-cited Verſes of *Statius*, may ſeem reaſonable and juſt, yet had any *Racer* in the *Olympick Stadium* been guilty of ſuch a piece of foul Play, or Fraud as *Statius* denominates it, for which *Idas* was ſentenced to run the Race over again, he would not have eſcaped with ſo light a Censure from the ſeverer Juſtice of the *Hellanodicks*. The Crown would have been adjudged to his Antagoniſt, and he, perhaps, would have been publicly ſcourged in the *Stadium*, for having infringed the *Olympick* Laws ; which prohibited, under ſevere Penalties, all kinds of Fraud and unfair Dealing. And to come home to the preſent Point, the Competitors in the Foot Races were reſtrained expreſſly
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1 A DISSERTATION ON

from laying hold of the Hair, or any Part of the Body ; from tripping, or even pushing one another aside, as we are told by *Tully* and *Lucian* ⁵.

The Competitors for the Crown in these Exercises (as also in all the Gymnastick Conflicts) contended naked. *Thucydides* informs us ⁶, that anciently it was the Custom in the *Olympick* Games for all the *Athletes* to wear a sort of Scarf about their Middle ; but that it was left off a little before his Time : for so the common Reading implies, which *Hudson* ⁷ has altered in order to reconcile *Thucydides* with the many other Authors, who affirm, that the Scarf was laid aside even so early as the 14th *Olympiad*, some hundred Years before the Time mentioned by *Thucydides*.

Eustathius, in his Comment upon *Homer's* Il. v. relates the Accident that gave occasion to the laying aside the Scarf. In the 14th *Olympiad*, one *Orsippus* a *Racer* happened to be thrown down by his Scarf tangling about his Feet, and was killed ; though others say, that he only lost the Victory by that Fall ; but which ever way it was, occasion was taken from thence to make a Law, that all the *Athletes* for the future should contend naked. This Fact is differently told by *Pausanias*, who says, that *Orsippus* obtained the Victory ; and that he is persuaded the Scarf was designedly thrown off by *Orsippus*, who could not be ignorant that a Man was more light and disencumber'd without a Scarf than with one ; *Paus.* L. i. c. 24. And this Account agrees best with an old Epigram upon *Orsippus*, quoted by the Scholiast upon *Thucyd.* L. i. Sect. 6. Ed. *Wasse*.

We are informed by *Pollux* ⁸, that the Racers had Sandals, or short Buskins upon their Feet.

In the 65th *Olympiad* ⁹ the Race of *Armed Men* was added to the *Olympick* Games : an Exercise (says *Pausanias*) that was judged very

⁵ Offic. L. iii. Περὶ τῆς μὴ ἐκείνου πρὸς τὴν ἐν.

⁶ *Thucyd.* L. i. c. 6. Edit. *Wasse*.

⁷ See Note *ibid.*

c. 30.

⁹ *Paul.* L. v.

⁸ *Ononast.* L. iii.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. li

proper for military Men. This differed in nothing from the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*, but that the Competitors ran in Armour ; for which Purpose there were five and twenty Bra's Bucklers kept in a Temple at *Olympia* : the other Pieces of Armour which they carried in this Race were a Helmet and Bulkins, as may be inferred from *Pausanias's* ¹⁰ Description of the Statue of *Damaretus*, who gained the first Victory in this Kind of Race. The same Author tells us, at the same Time that he describes the Statue of this Victor, dressed up in these Pieces of Armour, that in process of Time the *Eleans*, as well as the other *Greeks*, abolished this Custom of running in Armour. I cannot find when this happened, nor when the Custom of running the *Diaulus*, or *double Stadium in Armour*, was first introduced. *Pausanias* ¹¹ makes mention of one *Mnesibulus*, who gained the Victory in this Exercise in the 23⁵th *Olympiad*.

Having now gone through the several Particulars of the Foot-Races, I shall close this Section with a Translation of a *Greek Epigram*, taken out of the *Anthologia* ; in which the Hyperbole made use of by the Poet to raise an Idea of the Swiftneſs of the Victor, whom he celebrates, is, in my Opinion, much prettier, and more uncommon, than the celebrated one of *Virgil* upon *Camilla*. It is necessary for the Reader to know, that *Arias* (the Person celebrated in this Epigram) was of *Tarsus*, a City in *Cilicia*, founded originally by *Persæus*, who in old Fables is represented as having had Wings upon his Feet.

On Arias of Tarsus, Victor in the Stadium.

The Speed of *Arias*, Victor in the Race,
Brings to thy Founder ¹², *Tarsus*, no Disgrace :
For able in the Course with Him to vie,
Like Him he seems on feather'd Feet to fly.

¹⁰ L. vi. c. 10.

¹¹ L. x. c. 34.

¹² Persæus.

The Barrier when he quits, the dazzled Sight
In vain essays to catch him in his Flight.
Loft is the *Racer* thro' the whole Career,
¹ 'Till Victor at the Gaol he re-appear.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Palé, or Wrestling.

THE Wrestlers were first introduced into the *Olympick Stadium* in the 18th *Olympiad*, and *Eurybatus* a *Spartan* was the first who received the Wrestler's Crown.

*Theseus*¹ is reported to have been the first who reduced Wrestling into a Science. The Rules laid down by that Hero for attaining to a Perfection in this Science are, I believe, unknown : but there are still to be found in those Writers who treat of Gymnastick Exercises, many Parts or Divisions of the *Palé*, or Art of Wrestling ; by which it will appear to what a Degree it was cultivated by the Ancients. Some of these I shall take notice of in the following Account.

But in the first Place I must observe, that as I am writing to an *English* Reader, a great deal of Time and Trouble may be spared upon this Head, so little does the Wrestling used among the Ancients seem to differ from that now practised in most Parts of *England* ; in some of which, I will be bold to say, there are Champions who would have made no indifferent Figure in the *Olympick Stadium*.

The most remarkable Difference between the ancient and modern Practice is, that the ancient Wrestlers contended naked, and that their Bodies were rubbed all over with Oil, or with a certain Ointment² composed of a due Proportion of Oil, Wax, and Dust, mixed up together, which they called *Ceroma*. These Unctions were, as

¹ Plut. in Thef.

² Burette 1 Mem. sur les Athlètes.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. liii

some say, peculiar to the Wrestlers and Pancratiasts, whose Combats were thereby rendered more toilsome and various ; while each Combatant endeavoured to seize upon the other, whose Efforts to escape or break the Hold of his Antagonist were assisted by the Slipperiness, as well as the Force and Agility of his Body.

But, in order to qualify a little this extreme Lubricity of the Skin, occasioned by these Unctions, the *Athletes* were accustomed³, before they came to an Engagement, either to roll themselves in the Mud of the *Palestra*, (from which some People derive the Words *Palé* and *Palestra*⁴) or in the Sand, kept for that Purpose in a Place called *Κουρήγιον*, or that with which the Place of Combat seems to have been covered, as well for the Use just now mentioned, as to prevent the Combatants from bruising or injuring themselves in falling ; which, were it not for this Bed or Covering of Sand, they would be liable to do. However that be, it is so certain that the *Athletes* who were anointed, were always, before they engaged, sprinkled with Dust or Sand⁵, that to say an *Athlete* gained a Victory (*εὐκλείρι*) or without being so sprinkled, was the same Thing as to say he gained a Victory without engaging ; which sometimes happened, when, either from the great Reputation of the Champion, or other Reasons, none appeared to encounter with him. This Office of anointing and sprinkling the Combatants with Sand, was sometimes performed by themselves to one another ; and sometimes by the Officers of the *Palestra*, called from thence *Aliptæ*, or Anointers. It is to be observed, that all Sorts of Sand were not equally proper for this Use ; since *Leonatus*, one of *Alexander's* Generals⁶, was, in all the Marches of the Army, followed by Camels loaded with Sand, which he had caused to be brought from *Ægypt* for his own Use.

After the Wrestlers were thus prepared for the Engagement, they were matched by the Judges or Presidents of the Games in the following Manner :

³ Lucian. de Gymn.

⁴ viz. from *Πηλός*, which signifies Mud.

⁵ See Burr. i Mem. sur les Athletes.

⁶ Plut. in Alex.

liv A DISSERTATION ON

Into a Silver Urn, consecrated to *Jupiter*⁷, and brought forth upon this Occasion, were cast so many Lots or Dice, about the Bigness of a Bean, as answered to the Number of the Competitors. These Lots were all marked with Letters ; as for Example, upon two of them was written the Letter A, B upon two other, and so on in an alphabetical Order ; if the Number of Combatants required more, there were always two Lots marked with the same Letter. This being done the *Athletes* approached in Order, and invoking *Jupiter*, put their Hands into the Urn, and drew out each his Lot : to prevent all Fraud, an Officer appointed for that Purpose attended upon every one as he came to draw, and held up his Hand before him, to hinder his seeing the Letters written upon the Lot. When every one had drawn, the *Myiarches*, or one of the Presidents of the Games, going round to every *Athlete* in Order as they stood, inspected the Lots. And thus the Two, whose Lots were both marked with the same Letter, as with A or B, were by him matched and appointed to engage with each other. This was the Case when the Number of the Combatants was even, as Four, Eight, Twelve ; but when the Number was odd, as Five, Seven, Nine, &c. there was put into the Urn, together with the duplicate Lots, an odd one marked with a Letter, to which there was none that corresponded. The *Athlete* who was fortunate enough to obtain this Lot, was named *Ephedrus*, was to wait 'till the others had contended, and was then to take up one of the Conquerors. This, as *Lucian* observes, was a very considerable Advantage ; as the Champion, who by virtue of his Lot was to wait 'till the others had contended, and then engage with one of the Conquerors, came fresh and vigorous to the Encounter, against an Adversary, animated indeed and flushed with Conquest, but shattered and exhausted in obtaining it.

This was the Method of matching the Wrestlers and Pancratiasts ; and for this Piece of History we are indebted to *Lucian* alone, no other ancient Author having said any Thing upon that Subject. It is

⁷ *Lucian* in *Hermotimo*.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lv

to be wished that he had gone on a little further, and told us what was done after the first Set had finished their Combats; with whom was the *Ephedrus*, or odd Man, to engage: for if the Number of Combatants amounted at first to more than Four, it is evident there would be again the same Necessity for matching the Conquerors as there was at first: and I doubt not but the same Method was observed, and repeated as often as Occasion required, till the Competitors were reduced to Two, one of which was finally proclaimed the Conqueror. This appears a much more natural Solution of the Difficulty than any other hinted at by *Monf. Burette*⁸, and may be farther supported by the Consideration, that the Advantages accruing to the *Athlete*, named *Ephedrus*, were by this Method rendered less unequal. For if the Combatants were to be matched, and the Lots to be drawn more than once (which must have often been the Case) he might in the second Sortition, in which undoubtedly he was included with his Antagonists, lose the Advantage he had acquired in the former; and the lucky Lot might fall to the Share of one who had already been engaged, and who might stand in need of the Respite thus allowed him by his good Fortune.

The Wrestlers being thus matched proceeded to the Combat, in which the Victory was adjudged to him who gave his Adversary *three Falls*; as is evident, I think, from the famous Epigram upon *Milo*⁹, which I intend to produce at the End of this Section¹⁰.

If one of the Combatants in falling drew his Antagonist with him, the Contest began afresh, or was rather continued upon the Ground, until one getting uppermost constrained his Adversary to yield the Victory. This Combat was called *Anachinpalé*, and seems not so much to be a distinct Species from, as a Modification of the *Palé*; or an accidental, or perhaps artificial Variation of the Battle: for he who found himself

⁸ 2 Mem. sur les Athletes.

⁹ See *Monf. Burette*, who is not of the same Opinion.

¹⁰ This is also confirmed by the following Words of *Seneca*; *Luctator ter abjectus perdidit palmam*. Sen. de Ben. L. v. c. 3.

in Danger of being thrown, had sometimes Recourse to this Stratagem of dragging his Adversary with him, and trying upon the Ground a Combat in which he thought himself better qualified to succeed. However, those Authors who have written upon the *Palé*, have made this a distinct Exercise ; and it is not unlikely but it may have been treated as such in the *Gymnasia*, or Schools of Exercise ; where there were Masters, whose Business it was to give their Scholars distinct Lessons in every Branch of the Science they professed to teach : from which Custom one may very well account for the many Divisions and Subdivisions of the *Palé*, and other Gymnastick Exercises, of which modern Writers have made so many distinct Species. Of this Kind in all likelihood was the *Acrocheirismus* ; so named, because the Combatants, during this Part of their Engagement, held one another only by the Fingers, without seizing on any Part of the Body. This has been reckoned a distinct Exercise, and another Division of the *Palé* ; tho', as Monf. *Burette* very well observes, it seems rather to have been the Prelude of the Combat in which the Antagonists made Trial of each other's Strength, or endeavoured, perhaps, by seizing each other's Hands, mutually to prevent one another from taking a firmer and more advantageous Hold.

Pausanias, in his sixth Book ¹¹, makes mention of a Statue erected at *Olympia* to one *Leontiscus* a Wrestler, who was not so skillfull at throwing his Adversaries, as successful in extorting the Victory from them by squeezing or breaking their Fingers. This Method of conquering was also practised in the *Pancratiun* ¹², by one *Sostratus*, with so much Success, that he gained from it the Surname of *Acrocheiristes*. What has been related of *Leontiscus* is a clear Proof of what I observed before, namely, that the *Acrocheirismus* was not a distinct Species of the *Palé*, or Wrestling.

¹¹ Cap. iv.

¹² Ibid.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lvii

The Champion who distinguished himself the most in this Exercise, was *Milo* of *Crotona*, who gained no less than six *Olympick*, and as many *Pythian* Crowns. There are so many Instances of the prodigious Strength of this famous Wrestler, and most of them so well known, that it would be endless and impertinent to cite them all : but I cannot forbear producing one, as remarkable for the Singularity as the Issue of the Experiment.

This *Milo*¹³, to give a Proof of his astonishing Force, was wont to take a Pomegranate, which, without squeezing or breaking it, he held so fast by the meer Strength of his Fingers, that no body was able to take it from him ; no body but his Mistress, says *Ælian*¹⁴. But however weak he may have been with regard to the Fair Sex, his superior Force was universally acknowledged by the Men, as will appear by the following Epigram :

On Milo the Wrestler.

When none adventur'd, in th' *Olympick* Sand
The Might of boist'rous *Milo* to withstand ;
Th' unrivall'd Chief advanc'd to seize the Crown,
But 'mid his Triumph slip'd unwary down.
The People shouted, and forbade bestow
The Wreath on him, who fell without a Foe.
But rising, in the midst he stood, and cry'd,
Do not *Three Falls* the Victory decide ?
Fortune indeed hath giv'n me One, but who
Will undertake to throw me th' other *Two* ?

¹³ Paul. L. vi. c. 14.

¹⁴ Æl. L. ii. c. 24.

SECTION IX.

Of the Pentathlon.

AUTHORS differ very much in their Account of the Exercises, of which the *Pentathlon* was composed : though I think it is very clear, from some Epigrams in the *Anthologia*¹, that it consisted of *Leaping, Running, Quoitng, Daring, and Wrestling*. For it is agreed that the *Pentathlon* is intended to be described in that Verse², said to be written by *Simonides*, where these five Exercises are enumerated, according to the Order in which I have placed them. Yet notwithstanding so venerable an Authority, some Authors³ have substituted the Combat of the *Cæstus* instead of *Daring*; and others pretend, that by the Word *Pentathlon* no more is to be understood than a Game, or Trial of Skill, consisting of *Five*, and of any *Five* Exercises. Upon what Authorities these latter found their Assertion I cannot tell, but this I am sure of, that the Combat of the *Cæstus* could never have been originally of that Number ; because the First Victor in the *Pentathlon* was a *Spartan*⁴, whose Laws would not have allowed him to engage in the Combats of the *Cæstus*. I will not say that the *Pentathlon* consisted always of the *five* Exercises abovementioned, because we read in *Pausanias*⁵, that the *Eleans* from Time to Time made frequent Changes in the *Olympick* Games. There may therefore have been some Foundation for these various Accounts of the *Pentathlon*, which may have been different at different Times ; but as that which I have given of it seems to be founded upon the best Authorities, I shall keep to it, without entering for the present into a Description of

¹ Anthol. L. i. c. 1. Epi. viii. and L. ii. c. i. Ep. vii.

² Ἰσθμια καὶ Πυθοῖ Διοφύων ὁ Φιλανός ἐντα.

Ἀγας, Ποδωμένης, Δίεκου, Ἀεοντα, Πάσαν.

³ Potter's Antiq. vol. i. c. 21.

⁴ Plut. in Apoth.

⁵ Lib. v.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lix

any other Exercises, besides the *Five* abovemention'd, viz. *Leaping, Running, Quoiting, Darting, and Wrestling.*

Two of these, namely *Running* and *Wrestling*, have already been very fully explained; I shall therefore only observe upon the former of these Two, that I suppose the Race in the *Pentathlon* was of the same Length with the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*, and regulated by the same Laws. We must carry this Observation also to the *Wrestling*, which, I suppose, was under the same Regulations with the *simple Palé*, or *Wrestling*, treated of in the preceding Section.

In the Exercise of *Leaping*, wherein the Competitors endeavoured to leap beyond one another in Length (for I do not find that the *Height* of the *Leap* was taken into the Account) the *Athletes* carried in their Hands Pieces of Lead, or some other Metal⁶, made in the Form of a Half Circle, not exactly round, but inclining to an Oval. In these there was a Place made for the Fingers to pass through, in the same Manner as through the Handle of a Shield; and with these Weights called *Αντρες*, (*Halteres*) the *Athletes* were accustomed to poize their Bodies, and swing themselves forward in the *Leap*. And to lay Truth, they had need of some Assistance, to enable them to perform any Thing like what is related of *Phajlus* of *Crotone*⁷, whose *Leap* is said to have been two and fifty Feet long⁸. The same Thing is said of *Chionis* the *Spartan*.

The *Quoit*, or *Discus*, was, according to some Authors, of various Sizes and Figures; though that called the *Disc* of *Iphitus*, mentioned by *Pausanias*⁹, seems, by what he says of the Manner in which the Inscription upon it was written, to have been circular; as were those described by *Lucian*, in his Dialogue concerning the Gymnastick Exercises. “You took Notice (says *Solon* to *Anacharsis*, the other Inter-

⁶ Pauf. L. v. c. 26.

⁷ Olympion. *Αντρες*.

⁸ Five and fifty, according to the following Inscription under his Statue, cited

by *Eustathius*; ad *Hom. Odysf.* ε.

Πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα πόδας πρὸς Φαίλο,
Δικαιοῦσι δ' ἐκάρων πέντ' ἀποδείσσομεν.

⁹ Lib. v.

1x A DISSERTATION ON

locutor in this Dialogue) "of a great Lump of Brass round and smooth, resembling a small Shield, but without a Handle or Thong. You tried it too, and found it very weighty, and difficult to be taken up, " by reason of its Smoothness. This Mass the *Athletes* throw into the " Air as far as they are able, and endeavour with great Eagerness and " Emulation to surpass each other in the Length of the Cast." Here we have not only a Description of the *Disk*, or *Quoit*, the Manner of the Contest, and the Laws and Conditions of the Victory, but a Proof also, that all the Competitors made use of one and the same *Disk*. This is confirmed by the Testimonies of *Homer*¹⁰, *Ovid*¹¹, and *Statius*¹², who mention but one *Disk* in their Descriptions of this Game, in Contradiction to the pretended Authority of a Medal of the Emperor *M. Aurelius*; upon whose Reverse are represented four *Discoboli*, with each his *Disk*, and some of them with two. The *Disks* also in this Medal are of a different Figure from that described above, and are perforated in the Middle; which explains what some Authors¹³ tell us, of a *Thong* used sometimes by the *Athletes* in throwing the *Disk*. And perhaps there were different Sorts of *Disks* made use of by the *Greeks* and *Romans*; since *Ovid*, I observe, calls it *latum discum*, the broad *Disk*, an Epithet that agrees very well with its Appearance upon the Medal. In the *Greek* Writers it is generally represented to be round or globular, or rather approaching to the Figure of a Lens, and extremely heavy.

The *Disk* was likewise composed of different Materials¹⁴, as Iron, Brass, Stone, and sometimes even of Wood; and was thrown underhanded, much in the same Manner as the *Quoit* is amongst us; from which, however, it differed greatly both in Weight and Figure, as has been already shewn. Neither did the *Discoboli* aim their *Quoit* at any particular Mark, as is the Custom with us; their whole Endeavour

¹⁰ *Odyss.* L. viii.

¹¹ *Met.* L. x.

¹² *Theb.* L. vi.

Comment. upon *Homer* and *Ovid*, in loc. cit.

¹³ See *Potter's Antiq.* vol. i. c. 21. and

¹⁴ *Pind.* *Pyth.* Ode 1.

vours were to throw beyond one another, and he who threw farthest, obtained the Victory.

The same Thing was also observed in the Exercise of *Darting*, in which the Victory was awarded to him who threw his *Javeline* farther than the rest of his Antagonists. It appears, however, from a Passage in the *Scholiast*, upon the Seventh *Nemean* Ode of *Pindar*¹⁴, that there were certain Limits or Boundaries prescribed, beyond which it was a Forfeiture of the Prize for an *Athlete* to cast his *Javeline*; and to this Custom *Pindar* himself has frequent Allusions. The *Javeline* was sometimes thrown with the bare Hand, and sometimes with the Help of a Thong, wound round the middle.

From some Terms appropriated to that Part of the *Stadium* in which the *Pentathlon* was exhibited, may be collected some Circumstances relating to the three Exercises last described. One of these Terms is *Bater* (*Barhè*) which seems to have been a low *Step*, from whence the *Leapers* took their *Rising*. *Bater* was also used to signify the *Beginning* of the *Scamma*, another Term denoting the *Area* marked out for the Exercises of the *Pentathletes*. The Word *Scamma* properly signifies a *Ditch* or *Trench*; and this *Area*, as I conjecture, was formed by two parallel *Trenches*, drawn from the *Bater* or *Step* abovementioned into a sufficient Length, to serve as Boundaries or Limits, within which the *Pentathletes* were obliged to *leap* and to throw the *Disk* and *Javeline*; and which if they transgressed, by *leaping* or casting the *Disk* or *Javeline* over either of them, they forfeited their Pretensions to the Victory. This will explain the Passage above-cited from the *Scholiast* of *Pindar*, as well as many Expressions in other *Greek* Writers, who speak of *leaping*, *shooting*, *darting*, &c. over the *Scamma*, or τὰ ἐκτάμματα, *Trench* or *Trenches*, as a Fault. Indeed, if the Word *Terma*, used by *Pindar* in the Passage referred to by his *Scholiast*, be taken literally to signify the *End* or *Termination*, it will lead us to suppose there was

¹⁴ Verse 104th.

another *Trench*, drawn acroſs at the *End* from one Parallel to the other ; or rather ſeveral *Trenches*, as ſo many Marks or Limits for the *Leapers*, *Darters*, and *Dikoboli*, which in their reſpective Contests they were required not to over- paſs. But as the Fear of over- paſſing theſe Marks or Limits muſt check them in their Endeavours to out-go each other, upon which the Victory depended, I am rather inclined to think that *Pindar* has uſed the Word *Terma* improperly, and that the *Two Side-Trenches* were the only Limits which the *Pentathletes* were forbidden to tranſgreſs. But this I ſubmit to better Judgments.

The Exercise of *Leaping* in the *Pentathlon* was accompanied by Flutes, playing *Pythian* Airs, as *Pausanias* informs us. Whence this Cuſtom was derived I cannot ſay. And the Reason aſſigned for it by that Author, which is certainly not the true one, may induce us to think, that in this Matter the Ancients were as ignorant as we.

The Candidates in the *Pentathlon*, as well as thoſe in all the other *Gymnaſtick* Exercises, contended naked, and were alſo anointed with Oil ; tho' both theſe Points are called in *Queſtion* by ſome Writers, eſpecially the former ; and that, as I ſuppoſe, chiefly upon the Authority of the forementioned Medal of *M. Aurelius*, which, however, is ſuſpected by the Learned not to be genuine.

There are likewise many Doubts and Difficulties ſtarted by ſome, with relation to the Conditions upon which the Victory was awarded in the *Pentathlon* ; tho' it ſeems clear to me, that he who vanquiſhed his Antagoniſts in every one of the *Five Exercises*, was alone entitled to the Crown. That he who was vanquiſhed in any one of theſe Five Contests thereby loſt the Crown, is evident from the Story of *Tisamenus*, related by *Pausanias*, *Lacon. c. 11.* which is this : *Tisamenus* the *Elean*, of the Family of *Janus*, had been told by the Oracle, that he ſhould gain *Five* very glorious *Victories*, or more literally perhaps, that he ſhould come off ſucceſſfull in *Five* very glorious Contests. In conſequence of which he engaged in the *Pentathlon* at *Olympia*, but loſt the Victory ; for tho' he got the better in *Two* of the

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxiit

the Exercises, having vanquished Hieronymus of Andros, in *Running* and *Leaping*, yet being vanquished in *Wrestling* by the same Hieronymus, he failed of obtaining the Crown; and then came to understand, that the Victories promised him by the Oracle were military Victories.

If all Hopes of gaining the *Pentathletick Crown* were lost to him, who was vanquished in any one Trial (which all the Candidates except one must be even in the first) it may be demanded, why the Vanquished should contend any longer? To this I answer, that the *Pentathletes* were probably obliged by the Laws of the *Olympick Games* to go through all the *Five Exercises*. For *Pausanias* represents the *Pentathlon* as a very tedious and laborious Contest; which Representation of it is by no means just, upon the Supposition that the Victory was decided by a single Trial. I could confirm what is here said of the *Pentathlon* by other Authorities, but I am unwilling to multiply Quotations; and probably no one will think it worth his while to dispute this Point.

But tho' all the Competitors except one must have despaired of gaining the Crown, even from the very first Trial, yet might they still be desirous of carrying on the Contest through the *Four remaining Exercises* (had they not been required to do it by the *Olympick Laws*) either with a View of signalizing themselves in some of the other Contests, or the Hopes of ravishing the Crown from him, by whose Victory they had been excluded from the Prospect of obtaining it. Which, if not Victory, was yet *Revenge*; though Revenge in their Circumstances might well be deemed a kind of Victory neither immoral nor inglorious. In this Case indeed it might sometimes happen, that none of the Competitors would be entitled to the Crown; but even this may be considered as an Event, with which the Majority of the Competitors, at least, if not of the Spectators, who upon such Occasions are commonly divided into different Interests and Factions, had as much Reason to be pleased, as with the

Glory

Glory accruing to a single Person, to the Dishonour of themselves or their Friends.

Before I conclude this Section I must take notice, that *Pindar*, in his 13th *Olymp.* Ode, congratulates *Xenophon* of *Corinth* upon his having gained in one Day two *Olympick* Crowns; one in the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*, the other in the *Pentathlon*; *which*, says he, *never happened to any Man before*. The Reason is, that the Regimen of a *Pentathlete*, as both *Epictetus* and his Disciple *Arrian* inform us, was very different from that of an *Athlete*, who qualified himself for a single Exercise alone, as *Running*, *Wrestling*, or any other. Whence, as we are assured both by *Plato* and *Longinus*, it seldom happened that a *Pentathlete*, tho' very eminent in his Profession, was able to contend with an *Athlete* in that Exercise, as *Running*, for Example, or *Wrestling*, to which alone he had applied himself altogether. The same Thing may be said of all the *Athletes* in general; who differed from each other in their respective Regimens and Diets, as much or more than in the several Exercises to which they peculiarly applied themselves.

SECTION X.

Of the Cæsus.

THE Combat of the *Cæsus*, which was revived in the 23d *Olympiad*, was a very rough Exercise; in which the Victory was most commonly, if not always stained with Blood: For this Reason it was held in little Estimation by most People. The Physicians, who were accustomed upon many Occasions to prescribe the Use of some or other of the Gymnastick Exercises, either make no mention of this, or speak of it only to condemn it. *Alexander*, as *Plutarch*^r tells us, treated it with no more Regard: for he never

^r In Alex.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. ixv

admitted either the *Cæsus* or *Pancratiun* among those Games, which he after exhibited during his War in *Asha*. And indeed, to say nothing of the Danger to which the Combatants in these two Exercises were exposed; and for which the Glory alone of the Victor, without any other Advantage accruing either to himself or his Country, was not a sufficient Recompence; the Regiment observed by those who qualified themselves for these Combats, was by no means proper for a Soldier. What this was in general, may appear from the Account given of it to *Philopæmen*; who, being exceedingly desirous of becoming a good Soldier, had for that Reason, with great Diligence, exercised himself even from his Infancy in the Management of his Arms, in Horsemanship, and Wrestling²; in the last of which Exercises he had made a good Proficiency. But being advised by some People to apply himself to those Exercises properly called *Athletick* (by which, I think, must be understood the *Cæsus* and the *Pancratiun*, in contra-distinction to the *Palé* or *Wrestling*, as appears from this Passage) he demanded of them, whether the two Professions of an *Athlete* and a Soldier were not inconsistent? In answer to this Question he was told, that both the Habit of Body and the Way of Life of a Soldier and an *Athlete* differed in every Respect; and consequently they were to be treated differently, both with regard to their Regiment and to their Exercises: That an *Athlete* was to endeavour by much Sleep, perpetual Repletion, staid and regular Repose and Exercise, to acquire and keep up a certain *Corpulency*; which, by the least Variation in his Diet or Manner of living, was very subject to be lost: whereas a Soldier should accustom himself to all Sorts of Inequalities, to a Life full of Discomposure and Disorder; and above all, to support with Ease the Want of Provisions and the Loss of Sleep. These Reasons determined *Philopæmen* not only to reject these Exercises himself, but to discourage them in others. I will not say these were the Reasons that induced *Lycurgus* to banish the *Cæsus* and *Pancratiun* from *Sparta*, because there is

² Plut. in *Philopœm*.

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another

lxvi A DISSERTATION ON

another Reason assigned for his doing it, which I shall take Notice of in another Place ; but it is certain that the Diet and Regimen prescribed by him to his *Spartans*, resembled much more that of a Soldier than that of an *Athlete*. This *Corpulency*, or *Polysarcia* (Fleishiness) as the *Greeks* called it, was sought after and cherished by the Combatants in the *Cæstus*, as a Sort of Covering and Defence for their Bones and Muscles, against dry Blows and Buffets ; but was at the same Time very improper for a Soldier : for, as ³ *Epaminondas* observed to a fat Fellow, whom for his Bulk he turned out of the Army, it would require three or four Shields to cover and defend a Belly that hindered a Man from seeing his own Knee.

On the other hand, there are great Authorities to be produced in favour of the *Cæstus*. *Hercules* and *Pollux*, Demigods ; *Amycus* King of the *Bebrycians*, and *Erix* his Grandson, were the first who distinguished themselves in those Combats : upon his Superiority in which *Amycus* ⁴ so valued himself as to compel all Strangers who touched upon his Coast, to take up the *Cæstus*, and make Trial of his Strength and Skill in the Management of that rude Instrument of Death ; for so it proved to many, who accepting the Challenge perished in the Combat. But at length the *Royal Athlete* met with his Match ; *Pollux* encountered, subdued, and slew him, according to *Apollonius Rhodius* ⁵, but that last Part of the Story is denied by other Authors. All however agree, that *Pollux* handled him roughly enough to make him sensible of the Folly which many Tyrants have run into, some have suffered by, but which none have reflected upon till they came to suffer ; namely, the Folly of enacting an unjust and cruel Law, which in its Consequences may, and often does happen to recoil upon themselves.

This *Amycus* is said to have invented the Combat of the *Cæstus*.

After him we find it in *Homer* ⁶ practised by the Heroes of the *Iliad*, and in *Virgil* ⁷ making one among the Games exhibited by

³ Plut. Apoph.
and Theocr.

⁴ Apoll. Rhod. L. ii. Theocr.
⁶ Il. xxv.

⁷ Æn. v.

⁵ See the Scholiast, Ver. 97.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. Ixvii

Aeneas in Honour of his Father *Anchises*; in which two Authors may be seen a complete Description both of the Combat, and of the *Cæstus* with which the Hands and Arms of the Combatants were usually bound. This consisted of many *Tbongs* of *Leather*, or *raw Hides of Bulls*, wound about the Hand and Arm up to the Elbow; and seems to have been invented, as well for a Safeguard to those Parts upon which the first Fury of the Battle generally fell, as for an offensive Weapon; though, when it was lined with Plates of Lead or Iron (which it sometimes was, according to *Virgil*) one would think it intended chiefly for the latter: but I must take Notice, that neither of the three *Greek* Poets who have given us a Description of the *Cæstus*, make any mention of Plates of Lead or Iron.

There may possibly have been another Intention in binding up the Hands of the Combatants with *Tbongs* of *Leather*, and that is, to prevent their laying hold of each other; from which, as from *kicking* also, and *tripping*, they were restrained by the Laws of the *Cæstus*.

Pausanias hath helped us to another Reason for the Custom of binding up the Fingers of the Combatants, which took its Rise from an Accident that happened in the *Nemean* Games.

Creugas and *Damoxenus*⁸, two Champions of equal Strength and Skill, having drawn out their Combat to the Evening, without either's having been able to subdue his Adversary, agreed at length to permit each other to strike in his Turn where he should think proper, without either of them endeavouring to ward off the Blows. *Creugas* began, and gave *Damoxenus* a Wound upon the Head. *Damoxenus* being now to take his Turn, ordered his Antagonist to lift up his Arm, and keep it still; and at the same Time struck him under the Ribs with the Ends of his Fingers; which, by reason of the Strength and Sharpness of the Nails and the Violence of the Blow, penetrated into his Belly; and *Damoxenus* following his Blow, widened the Wound, and through it drew out the Entrails of

⁸ Paul. L. viii. c. 40.

his Enemy, who died upon the Spot. The Death of *Creugas* gave *Damoxenus* the Victory indeed, but not the Crown ; for the Judges of the Games drove him with Infamy and Indignation out of the *Stadium* ; as one who had conquered by Treachery, and by repeating his Blows without allowing *Creugas* to have his Turn, had basely violated the Conditions agreed upon between them in the hearing of the whole Assembly. *Creugas* was crowned ; and the *Straps* of the *Cæsus*, which hitherto, according to the ancient Custom, were tied in the Palm or Hollow of the Hand, were from that Time brought over the Fingers, and fastened upon the Wrist.

The ancient *Cæsus* ? was called *μέλας*, or *sest* ; perhaps because it was composed of raw Hides, or perhaps to distinguish it from the more modern *Cæsus*. We have already remarked one material Difference between them ; by which I think it appears, that the former was more fitted to defend the Hand and Arm of the Combatants (which, I suppose, was its original Purpose) and the latter to hurt and annoy the Enemy : and it is not unlikely, that as the *Grecians* began to refine upon the *Gymnastick* Exercises, and the Science of an *Athlete*, from the Encouragement of the Publick, grew by Degrees into a *Profession* : it is not unlikely, I say, that the *Cæsus* should from Time to Time receive several Additions ; and that at length it should be improved by the *Romans*, who delighted in bloody Spectacles, into that terrible Weapon described by *Virgil*. This Conjecture will at least account for the Difference observable between that in *Virgil*, and those described by the *Greek* Poets.

I must also observe, that in *Apollonius Rhodius*, *Amycus* the Chalcenger throws down two Pair of *Cæsus*es, the Choice of which, out of Bravery, he leaves to *Pollux*, without drawing Lots, and *Pollux*, without examining, takes those that were next him. Did the Poet borrow this Circumstance from any such Custom in the publick Games ? Did the Combatants in the *Olympick Stadium* bring their

⁹ Vid. Pauf. *ibid*.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. Ixi

own *Cæstus*? Did they cast Lots for the Choice? Or were they furnished by the Presidents of the Games with *Cæstus*es of a like Form and Weight, as *Entellus* and *Dares* were by *Æneas*? I am inclined to think the latter was the Method, from a Custom observed at *Olympia*, to furnish the *Armed Racers* and the *Discoboli* with Shields and Discs out of the publick Treasures.

The Combatants in this Exercise also fought naked¹⁰, or at most with no other Covering than a Scarf tied round their Middle. They also wore a Cap or Head-piece, to defend their Ears and Temples from Blows, which in those Places might have proved mortal, especially when inflicted by a strong Hand, armed with so rude a Weapon. These Head-pieces were of Brass, according to the Author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*. It appears, however, from the following Epigram of *Lucilius*, that the Consequences of these Battles were sometimes very terrible, though the Combatants escaped with their Lives and Limbs.

On a Conqueror in the Cæstus.

This Victor¹¹, glorious in his Olive Wreath,
Had once *Eyes*, *Eye-brows*, *Nose*, and *Ears*, and *Teeth* :
But turning *Cæstus Champion*, to his Cost,
These, and, still worse ! his Heritage he lost.
For by his Brother *su'd*, disown'd, at last
Confronted with his Picture he was *cast*.

¹⁰ See Burette.

¹¹ Anthol. L. ii. c. 1. Ep. i.

SECTION XI.

Of the Pancratiūm.

“**T**HERE are wonderful Disputes, as I hear, (says *Cælius Rhodiginus*¹) among the *Grammarians*, concerning the *Pancratiūm*, who cannot agree what Sort of an Exercise it was ; nor wherein the peculiar Excellence of a *Pancratiq̃* consisted. But “notwithstanding, (continues he) I think it very easy to decide that “Question.” And indeed, from the two Passages which he there quotes out of *Aristotle* and *Quintilian*, it seems pretty plain that the *Pancratiūm*² was an Exercise that partook both of the *Cæssus* and the *Palé* ; by which it is to be understood, that an *Athlete* must borrow many Things from each of those Sciences to render himself eminent in the *Pancratiūm*. He must learn to *trip*, and *strike*, to *box*, and *grapple* with his Antagonist ; to stand with Firmness, fall with Advantage, and rise with Vigour and Celerity ; or maintain the Combat upon the Ground : to attack and to defend, to annoy and resist his Enemy in every Attitude ; and to employ in one or other of those Purposes every Limb, and Nerve, and Sinew, all the Faculties, and all the Strength of his whole Body : this is implied in the Word *Pancratiūm*³ ; and is the best Account of an Exercise, in which the Combatants were allowed (under certain Restrictions, hereafter mentioned) to make what use they thought proper of all the Arms that Nature had given them, both offensive and defensive, and of only those : for neither (as in the *Cæssus*) were their

¹ Ant. Lect. L. xiii. c. 30.

² This is farther evident from the two following Passages ; σύθετον ἐκ πυγμῆς καὶ μάχης ἢ τὸ πανηγράτιον. ἐξ ἧν γὰρ τῶ πανηγάρτου ἀξίον ἐθέλουσι ὁ μόνος τοῖς νόμοις τῆς μάχης ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πυγμῆς νόμοις πρὸς τὸ νικῆσαι.

Nicephorus Gregoras. apud Synel. πρὸς ἐννενήκων. See Fab. Ag. L. i. c. 9. Plut. in Sym. L. ii. Q. 4. ἵστι γὰρ μέμικται τὸ πανηγάρτιον ἐκ τε πυγμῆς καὶ μάχης διῆλον.
³ *Pancratiūm* is derived from Παν and

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxxi

Hands and Fingers bound up or armed, nor their Legs and Feet prohibited from joining in the Battle, nor were they restrained from striking, as in the *Palé*. They were able notwithstanding, with no other Arms than these, so to mangle and injure one another, that it was thought proper to restrain them in some Points⁴; lest a Contest set on Foot merely for Victory and Honour should be disgraced by Murder or Malice, and the Combatants be provoked to encounter one another in a Manner more becoming Beasts than Men. An *Athlete* therefore was forbidden to kill his Adversary designedly, to dig or pluck out his Eyes, to tear him with his Teeth, or strike him under the Ribs with the Ends of his Fingers, as was done by *Damoxenus* to *Creugas*; notwithstanding which there was still Room enough left for them to exercise their Skill and Strength, their Courage and Resolution: I say Resolution, because it was a common Practice for a *Pancratiast* to choke the Strength and Skill of his Antagonist by twisting and entangling himself about his Legs and Arms; and to endeavour by Fatigue, and Pain, and Suffocation, to weary him into a Surrender of the Victory. All, or most of these Circumstances are to be met with in the Story of *Arrachion*⁵, which happened in the fifty-fourth *Olympiad*. *Arrachion* was an eminent *Pancratiast*, who in the former *Olympiads* had already gained two *Crowns*, and was now to encounter with the last of his Antagonists for the third: but *He* having, perhaps, observed by his former Combats, in what the Superiority of *Arrachion* consisted, and thinking it better to prevent him, rushed in, and twining his Feet about him, seized him at the same Time by the Throat, which he griped with both his Hands. *Arrachion*, having no other Means either of disengaging himself or annoying an Enemy, who was thus got within him and had almost strangled him to Death, broke one of his Toes; through the extreme Pain of which the other was compelled to resign the Victory, at the very Instant that *Arrachion* gave up the

⁴ See Burr. 2 Mem. sur les Athlet. s.

⁵ Paul. L. viii. c. 40.

Ghost. *Arrackion*, though dead, was proclaimed Conqueror, and the *Crown of Olive* was accordingly set upon his Head.

In this short History we may observe the Love of Glory triumphing on the one hand over the Fear of Death, and yielding on the other hand to Pain, which *Milton* somewhere styles *perfect Misery*. And, notwithstanding the boasted *Apathy* of the *Sticks*, Philosophy perhaps can find no *Anodyne* against the importunate and impatient Power of Pain, of so much Force and Efficacy as the Love of Glory and the Dread of Shame; which for that Reason was always set in Opposition to it by *Lycurgus*. But as the Sense of Pain was implanted in Mankind by Nature for very wise Purposes, he endeavoured by the Force of Habit and Education to super-induce among his *Spartans* a Kind of second Nature, if not wholly insensible of Pain, yet not easily subdued by it. They were accordingly taught, even from their Infancy, to set it at Defiance; to enter the Lifts, as it were, and combat with it; while at the same Time their Friends, their Relations, and their Parents, animated them to the Conflict, and recompensed their Victory with Praise and publick Honours. To this End many painful Disciplines were invented, and many Sorts of Contests encouraged in *Sparta*, as rude and bloody as the *Cæsus* or *Pancrætion*, which nevertheless their wise Legislator absolutely prohibited: for the Law of these two Exercises requiring that one of the Combatants should yield, either in Words or by stretching out his Hand or Finger, or by giving some other Testimony of his so doing; *Lycurgus*⁶ forbade his *Spartans* to engage in either of them, because (as he said himself) he would not have them accustom themselves to yield the Victory not even in Sport. The *Spartans*, undoubtedly, from the hardy and *Athletick* Course of Life into which he had put them, had a much fairer Prospect of conquering in these Contests than any other People of *Greece*; but if they failed of the Victory (which even in this Kind of Warfare depends often

⁶ Plut. in Apopth.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxxiii

upon Chance and Accident; to say nothing of the insurmountable Advantages which Nature bestows upon some Men in preference to all other, and which no Force of Art or Education can pretend to equal) they would then see themselves reduced to the sad Necessity, either of publicly disavowing the haughty Maxim of *Sparta*, and breaking her Laws, or of unprofitably losing a Life, which they might employ to much better Purposes in the Service of their Country 7. The Laws of *Sparta* commanded a Man to die or conquer; and punished with extreme Infamy those who saved themselves by Flight 8, which is only another Form of renouncing the Victory: for they were not only excluded from all Offices and Honours, but it was esteemed ignominious to make any Alliances with them by Marriage: it was also allowable for any Body that met with them to kick and strike them; and the miserable Wretches wandered up and down, exposed to the Scorn and Insults of their Countrymen; and bearing about the Marks of their Infamy, in the Coarseness and Colour of their Habits, and the Dejection of their Countenances rendered still more contemptible by being shaved only on one Side. *Lycurgus*, therefore, acted very consonantly with his own Laws, in forbidding his *Spartans* the *Cæsus* and *Pancratium*; and very consistently with his Views of rendering them a hardy and warlike People, in permitting and encouraging among them the Use of all the other Gymnastick Exercises. For these admitting a clear Decision of the Victory, without the hard Condition imposed on the Combatants in the *Cæsus* and *Pancratium*, of acting in their own Condemnation, allowed the Vanquished the secret Satisfaction of preserving his Mind and Spirit at least unconquered 9.

7 Herod. L. vii.

8 Plut. in Agelliao.

9 This is very well explained by the following Passage of *Seneca de Benefic.* L. v.

Lacedæmonii vetant suos Pancratio aut Cæstu decernere, ubi inferiorem offendit victi confesso. Cur per metum prior contingit velocitate alium, non animo antecessit;

luctator ter abjectus perdidit palmam, non tradidit. Cum invictos esse Lacedæmonii:

cives suos magno æstimarent, ab his certaminibus removerunt, in quibus victorem facit non iudex, non per se ipse exitus, sed vox cadentis et tradere jubentis.

ibidem

l.

Incedi

lxxiv A DISSERTATION ON

I need not perhaps inform the Reader, that the Combatants in the *Cæsus* and *Pancreatium* were naked, &c. and that the Restrictions just now mentioned extended also to the former, as far as the Nature of that Exercise would allow. As in these two Exercises it was necessary to *pair* the Combatants, this we are to suppose was done by *Lot*, in the same Manner as the *Wrestlers* were matched in the *Palé*, which has been described in a foregoing Section, and therefore need not be repeated here : but I cannot forbear inserting a remarkable Story of a *Samian Athlete* named *Ægles*, who having been dumb from his Birth came to the Use of Speech, by an Effect as sudden and surprizing as that related of the Son of *Cræsus* : take it in the Words of *Aulus Gellius*, upon whose Credit I shall leave it. *Sed et quispian Samius Athleta, nomen illi fuit Αἴγλης, cum antea non loquens fuisset, ob similem dicitur causam loqui cepisse. Nam quum in sacro certamine sortitio inter ipsum et adversarios non bona fide fieret, et sortem nominis falsam subijci animadvertisset : repente in eum, qui id faciebat, sese videre quid faceret, magnum inclamavit. Atque is oris vinculo solutus per omne inde vitæ tempus non turbide neque abesse locutus est.* These Words import, that *Ægles* being a Candidate for one of the *Four sacred Crowns*, and perceiving the Officer who was appointed to match the Combatants, fraudulently endeavouring to put a *wrong Lot* upon him, cried out to him with a loud Voice, that he saw what he was doing : from which Time the Band of his Tongue being loosed, he continued for the rest of his Life to speak distinctly and without Hesitation.

If we compare the Words *non loquens*, in the former Part of this Passage, with those *non turbide neque abesse*, in the latter Part, we may be induced to believe that *Ægles*, before this Accident, was not absolutely dumb, but had only a great Impediment and Hesitation in his Speech ; which will make the Story somewhat less wonderful : but whether in either Case the Cure was possible or not, I shall leave to the *Naturalists* to determine ; and observe, that the Fraud which produced in *Ægles* such a violent Agitation, as at once broke all the

Impedi-

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxxv

Impediments which tied up the Organs of his Speech, probably related to the *Lot* of the *Ephedrus*, or *Odd Man*, reserved to engage with one of the Conquerors: a Lot of the utmost Consequence, especially in the *Cæstus* and *Pancratiûm*; in which a Combatant, though victorious, might yet have been so roughly treated, or so much spent, in his former Engagement, as to be little able to contest the Victory with an Antagonist, who came fresh and unwounded to the Battle. *Pausanias*, indeed, speaks of a *Pancratiast* named *Sagritus*, who had an easy Method of obtaining the Victory: his Custom was, to seize fast hold of his Adversary's Fingers, which he broke, and never quitted his hold till they renounced the Contest. This Method gained him twelve *Isthmian* and *Nemean*, two *Pythian*, and three *Olympick* Crowns, together with a Statue at *Olympia*, and the Sur-name of *Acrocherstes*.

SECTION XII.

Of the Horse-Races.

I HAVE now gone through the several *Exercises* which are distinguished by the Name of *Gymnastick*; and which, as well from their Seniority, as their Precedence in the Celebration of the *Olympick Games*, have a Right in this *Dissertation* to take Place of the *Horse-Races*; though the Competitors in the latter were, generally speaking, Men of higher Rank¹ and Consideration than the *Athletes*; and the Spectacle was in itself, perhaps, more pompous and magnificent.

There were properly but two Kinds of *Horse-Races* at *Olympia*, namely, the *Chariot-Race*, introduced into those *Games* in the 25th *Olympiad*, and the Race of *Riding-Horses*, which was not admitted

¹ Idocr. de Bigis.

'till the 33d. All the rest, which I shall take Notice of in their Order, were little else than Modifications of these two.

It appears from the Story of *Oenomaus* and *Pelops*, that the *Chariot-Race* was known in *Elis*, even before the Institution of the *Olympick Games*; which are said by some People to have been celebrated by the latter², upon the Occasion of his Victory over *Oenomaus*. It may seem therefore a little strange, that neither *Iphitus*, when he restored these *Games*, nor the *Elans*, who after him had the Superintendency and Direction of them, should not, before the 25th *Olympiad*, think of reviving an Exercise so famous in the traditional History of their own Country. For it was in the *Chariot-Race* that *Pelops*³, the great Hero of the *Elans*, vanquished *Oenomaus*, and won *Hippodamia*, the fair Prize for which so many Princes before him had hazarded and lost their Lives: though possibly that Lady, like *Ececheiria* the Wife of *Iphitus*, may have only been an *allegorical* Personage, and no more be meant by that Story, than that *Pelops* conquered *Oenomaus* by his superior Skill in *Horsemanship*⁴. But whether this Conjecture be admitted, or whether *Hippodamia* be taken for the real Daughter of *Oenomaus*, so named, perhaps, by her Father, from a Science in which he took himself to excel, it tends either Way to prove the great Antiquity and Estimation of the *Chariot-Race*; and brings us back to the Question, how it came to pass that it was admitted no earlier into the *Olympick Games*. This, in all likelihood, was owing principally to the great Scarcity of *Horses* throughout all *Greece*, not only at the Time of the Revival of those *Games*, but for many *Olympiads* after; and in the next Place to the great Expence that attended the breeding and managing of Horses; and lastly, perhaps, to the little Estimation in which the *Olympick Games* were held at their Re-institution. The *Olive Crown* had not as yet acquired that Lustre, which afterwards attracted the

² See Section the First.

³ Pindar's *Olymp.* Ode 1.

⁴ The Word *Hippodamia* is compound-

ed of two *Greek* Words, and signifies the Art of taming or managing Horses.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxxvii

Ambition even of Kings, and engaged the principal Men of *Greece* in a Competition for an Honour, that was esteemed equal to a *Roman Triumph*.

That the *Greeks* were at all Times but ill provided with Cavalry, is manifest through the whole Course of their History. At the Siege of *Troy*, when they were able to bring into the Field an Army of an hundred Thousand Men, they appear to have had so few Horses, and to have known so little of the Usefulness of that noble Animal, as to employ them in no other Service than in drawing their Chariots. With these indeed they came thundering to the Battle, but with so little Order, and in so small a Number, that in the Equipage of a *Chariot*, it is visible, there was less Advantage and Convenience than Pomp and Ostentation. Horses were the Possessions only of the Rich and Great, who never failed, in the Enumeration of their Wealth and Treasures, to reckon up their *Horses* and their *Chariots*. This we learn not from *Homer* only and the Poets, who wrote of those early Times, or lived near them. *Isocrates* speaks the same Language, in an Oration⁵ made to be spoken in a Court of Justice; and to prove the Nobility and Wealth of the Family of *Alcibiades*, who by his Mother's Side was descended from *Alcmeon*, uses no other Argument, than that *Alcmeon* was the first *Athenian* that won a *Prize* in the *Chariot-Race* at the *Olympick Games*.

After the *Trojan War*, and even after the Retraction of the *Olympick Games*, the same Scarcity of Horses is observable in *Greece*. For neither did the *Lacedemonians*, the most warlike People of *Greece*, nor any of the *Peloponnesians*, as *Pausanias*⁶ informs us, know much of the Use of Horses, 'till after the two *Messenian Wars*: from which Time the former, as they began to extend their Arms beyond the *Isthmus*, grew sensible of their Want of Cavalry; and accordingly took Care to instruct their Youth in Horsemanship. Nor were the *Athenians*, the richest and most powerfull People of *Greece*, better

⁵ De Bigis.

⁶ L. iv.

lxxviii A DISSERTATION ON

furnished with Cavalry than the *Lacedæmonians* their Rivals. To remedy this Evil, and encourage the Breed and Management of Horses, *Solon*, indeed, instituted an Order of Citizens in his Commonwealth, which consisted of such as were of Ability to furnish out a Horse; and to these he allotted the second Rank in the State. Yet we find that at the Battle of *Marathon*⁷, though they were to encounter with an Enemy, whose chief Strength consisted in their Cavalry, they were utterly destitute of Horse⁸: and even after the *Persians* were entirely driven out of *Greece*, which may be reckoned the most glorious Period of that Commonwealth, their whole Number of Horse, for some Time, amounted to no more than Three hundred.

From this remarkable *Scarcity of Horses* among the *Greeks* may be shewn, at the same Time, the Reason of their being introduced so late into the *Olympick Games*; and the Wisdom of introducing them. *Greece* was in want of Horses: it was therefore expedient to do something to procure them: and no Method was like to be so effectual as the raising an Emulation among particular States and People, by rewarding with publick Honours those who should excell in the breeding and managing of Horses. With this View then, in all likelihood, was the *Olympick Olive* proposed, as the only *Prize*, perhaps, for which the several Nations of *Greece* would equally contend: and the *Olympick Hippodrome* was opened as a Theatre, where the several Competitors might exhibit their Pretensions; and prove their Merit in the Presence of all *Greece*. The *Olympick Games* had now subsisted near an hundred Years from the Time of this Re-institution by *Iphitus*, not to mention their more remote, though fabulous Original; and consequently began to be looked upon with Veneration for their Antiquity, and frequented for the Sake of the Spectacle: which, consisting of almost all the *Gymnastick Exercises*, drew to *Olympia*, not only a great Number of Candidates.

⁷ Herod. L. vi.

⁸ Potter's Antiq. Vol. ii.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxxix

for the *Olive Crown*, but a Multitude of Spectators also from all Parts of *Greece*; who, beholding with Pleasure and Admiration, and rewarding with Applause the Ardor and Emulation of those who contended for the *Prize*, insensibly contributed to raise the Value of the *Olympick Chaplet*; and kindled in each other a like Ambition to obtain it. Upon the Introduction, therefore, of the *Chariot-Race*, the Rich and Noble, who are also fond of Glory, as appears from their Ostentation and Love of Flattery, with Pride and Pleasure laid hold of an Occasion, which presented them with the Means of obtaining what they could not help admiring with the Vulgar, without engaging them at the same Time in a Competition with them ⁹. *Alexander the Great* would have contended in the *Foot-Race* at *Olympia*, could he have had Kings for his Antagonists. But, as I have observed, there was no room to object against the Meanness of the Competitors in the *Horse-Races*; in the List of whose Conquerors are accordingly to be found Kings of all those Nations of *Greece* that were governed by Kings, as also the Men of the greatest Eminency, both for Wealth and Power, in those Commonwealths, whose Liberty and Independence rendered their chief Citizens equal, if not superior to those Kings. Of this last Number was *Alcibiades*; who perceiving (as his Son informs us in an Oration made for him by *Isoocrates* ¹⁰) that the *Olympick Games* were held in great Honour and Admiration by all *Greece*; and that the Glory acquired in those Assemblies, where every *Grecian* was accustomed to display his Wealth, and Strength, and Knowledge, redounded not to the Victor only but to his Country also, resolved to produce himself at *Olympia*: but, considering at the same Time, that in the *Gymnastick Exercises* the Generality of the Combatants were meanly born, more meanly educated, and Inhabitants, perhaps, of mean and inconsiderable Cities, he refused upon that Account to engage in those Combats (in which, however, he was as well qualified to succeed as

⁹ Plut. in Apophth.

¹⁰ Isocr. de Bigis.

lxxx A DISSERTATION ON

any one, both from Nature and Practice) and entered himself a Candidate for the *Equestrian Crown*: to which no Man of a low and poor Condition could pretend. And upon this Occasion (says *Plutarch*¹¹) he outhone not only all his Competitors, but all who either before or since contended for that *Crown*, in the Number and Magnificence of his *Chariots*, and in the Victories obtained by them: for he brought at once seven *Chariots* into the *Course*, and carried off at the same Time the first, second, and fourth *Prize*, according to *Thucydides*¹²; or third, according to *Isocrates*¹³ and *Euripides*: the last of whom composed an Ode upon the Conqueror, Part of which is quoted by *Plutarch*. The Poet in this Ode compliments *Alcibiades* upon his having gained at once *three Prizes*: a Thing, says he, which no *Greek*¹⁴ had ever done before him. He takes Notice, likewise, of another Circumstance attending these Victories, which may seem, perhaps, to derogate from the Glory of the Conqueror, namely, that these Victories cost *Alcibiades* neither Trouble nor Danger.

And this leads me to consider another Point, from which it will more plainly appear that the *Eleans*, in introducing the *Chariot-Race* into the *Olympick Games*, had the Service of the Publick principally in View; for as they offered the *Olympick Olive* to the Wealthy, who alone were able to support the great Expence that necessarily attends the breeding, keeping, and managing Horses, so did they wisely make the Conditions of obtaining it as easy to them as possible, by exempting them from the *Trouble* and *Danger* of driving their own *Chariots*, hinted at by *Euripides* in the Ode above-mentioned.

¹¹ In Alex.

¹² L. vi.

¹³ De Bigis.

Example; for there are many Instances

¹⁴ The Poet by this must mean, that *Alcibiades* was the only one, that ever gained at the same Time three *Prizes* in one and the same Exercise, as the *Chariot-Race*, for former Section about the Foot-Race.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxxxi

No one, however, was prohibited from driving his own *Chariot*; which in all likelihood, at the first Revival of these Races, was more practised, than the contrary Custom of leaving it to the Management of others. The Office of a *Charioteer* was anciently far from being dishonourable; and the Skill of managing Horses, which were then used only in *Chariots*, was reckoned among the Accomplishments of a Hero: but when *Chariots* came to be laid aside in War, which seems to have happened soon after the heroick Ages¹⁵, the Usefulness, and consequently the Reputation of that Art began to diminish by Degrees; whence it soon came to be lodged in inferior Hands. And it was by no means the Business of the *Eleans* to ennoble it once more, by obliging the Masters of the Horses to contend in Person, and add to the Trouble and Expence of breeding and maintaining them, the subordinate and painful Office of managing and breaking them. This would have been clogging the Conditions, and would have disgusted some, and excluded others from being *Candidates* for a *Crown*, which they might have been willing to deserve, but unable to obtain in *Person*. Such, at least, would have been the Situation of all the *States*, and *Cities*, and *Ladies*, who contended by *Proxy* in the *Olympick Hippodrome*, and received the Honours due to that Ambition which they were intended to excite; and which was as beneficial to the Publick in the Women as in the Men. *Cynisca*¹⁶, a *Lacedæmonian* Lady of a manly Spirit, was the first who gave this Example to her Sex; encouraged to it by *Agellaus* her Brother, King of *Sparta*: who observing some of his Countrymen overvaluing themselves upon the Number of their Horses, and the Victories obtained by them at *Olympia*, prevailed with his Sister to shew them, by offering herself a Candidate for the *Equestrian Crown*, that they were more indebted for those Victories to their Money than their Merit. This Precedent was afterwards followed by many *Macedonian* Ladies; which shews, at

¹⁵ Potter's Ant. Vol. ii. p. 16.

¹⁶ Pauf. Lacon. Plut. in Agelliao.

the same Time, the Prevalency of the Fashion, the Extensiveness of its Influence, and the Policy of the *Elans*, in forming so comprehensive a Scheme, and opening, by that means, a Field for the Ambition of the *Women*; who contributed equally with the Men to the promoting their principal Design, in admitting *Chariots* into the *Olympick Games*.

If, notwithstanding what has been just now said, to shew the Wisdom and Policy of the *Elans*, in exempting the Owners of the Horses from contending in Person, and yet bestowing the *Crown* upon them, any one should be still inclined to think, that the chief Honour of an *Equestrian* Victory ought, in Justice, rather to be conferred on the *Charioteer* who won it, than upon the Owner of the *Chariot*, I shall desire him to take into Consideration the following piece of History, told by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Alexander*.

Philip King of *Macedon*¹⁷, having made himself Master of *Potidea*, received in the same Day three Messengers: The first of whom brought him an Account of a great Victory, obtained by his General *Parmenio* over the *Illyrians*: The second told him, that he was proclaimed *Conqueror* in the *Race of Riding-Horses* at *Olympia*: And the third acquainted him with the Birth of *Alexander*. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Philip* was mightily delighted with these three pieces of News, without saying which of them gave him the greatest Pleasure. The first Event, undoubtedly, and the third, tended more directly to the Furtherance of his main Design; which was no less than that of enslaving all *Greece*, and of employing afterwards her united Forces to conquer, for his Glory, the Empire of the *Persians*. The second was less conducive to those Views, but less pernicious also to his Country. Let the Reader determine, upon which of the Three *Philip* had most Reason to value himself: and whether any of them, according to the strict Rule of Justice contended for by those who object to the Proceed-

¹⁷ Plut. in Alex.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxxxiii

ing of the *Eleans*, ought to have been placed to his Account ? For the first he was indebted to *Parmenio* and his Army ; for the second to his *Rider* and his *Horse* ; and his Wife is shrewdly suspected of having helped him to the third.

What I have been saying concerning the *Victors* in the *Chariot-Race*, will hold equally to those, who conquered in the Race of *Riding Horses*, *Mules*, &c. in which latter, the Conditions of obtaining the *Crown* of Victory were left as large as in the former. and are to be justified upon the same Principles.

But after all, it may seem impertinent to use many Arguments with an *English* Reader, to convince him of the Wisdom and Justice of a Proceeding which is every Day practised amongst us ; who have also our *Horse-Races* and *Prizes* for the *Victor*, established originally with the same View, as those of which I am now speaking, and under some of the same Regulations : particularly with regard to the bestowing the *Prize*, which with *us*, as with the *Grecians*, is conferred upon the *Orener* of the Horse that wins the Race, and not upon the *Rider*. If this be an Injustice, the *Jockeys* at *Newmarket* have great Reason to complain ; in whose Opinion, I dare say, a *Piece* of *Plate* of a *hundred Guineas* is preferable to the Glory of a thousand *Olympick Crowns*. I will not say their Masters are in the same Way of Thinking, nor make any farther Comparison between the Customs observed in the *Horse-Races* at *Olympia* and those in Fashion at *Newmarket* : I shall only take Notice, that no kind of Fraud or Violence was allowed of in the former ; the Competitors in which contended for Glory only : an Object seldom heartily pursued by those, who are so fordid enough either to use or connive at the Use of Fraud. To return to the *Chariot-Race*.

But though the *Master* of the *Horses*, for the Reasons above-mentioned, was proclaimed the *Conqueror*, yet had the *Horses* ¹⁸ their Share

¹⁸ Pindar's Olymp. Ode 13. Plut. Sym. L. ii. Q. 4. Pauf. L. vi.

——— τῶμας δὲ καὶ ἀνέεις ἐλάνχον ἱπποῖσι,
Οὐ σφίσιν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν σέφασαν ἡρώδοι ἦδ' οὐ ἀγῶνισιν.
Theoc. Eid. xvi.

lxxxiv A DISSERTATION ON

of Honour, and were *crowned* amid the Congratulations and Applauses of the whole Assembly. They who are acquainted with *Homer* and the Poets, will not be surprized at the Honours thus imparted to these noble Animals, whose Nature was by them esteemed not unworthy of a divine Original; and whose Ardour and Emulation in the *Course* seemed to express a Sense of Glory almost human, and justify the Exhortations and Expostulations addressed to them in those ancient Writings.

A *Crown* was also given to the *Charioteer*, to whose Skill and Courage the Victory was always in great Measure owing. I say Skill and Courage, because both the one and the other were absolutely necessary to finish happily a *Course*, which the many short *Turnings* round the *Pillars*, and the Number of *Chariots* which sometimes ran together, rendered extremely difficult and dangerous.

To explain the Nature of these Difficulties and Dangers, as well as some Particulars relating to the *Horse-Races*, I shall here insert a Description of the *Olympick Hippodrome*, or *Horse-Course*, taken from *Pausanias*, L. vi. which is as follows¹⁹.

As you pass out of the *Stadium*, by the *Seat* of the *Hellanodicks*, into the Place appointed for the *Horse-Races*, you come to the *Barrier*, (*Ἀφείρις*) where the *Horses* and *Chariots* rendezvous before they enter into the *Course*. This *Barrier* in its Figure resembles the *Prow* of a *Ship*, with the *Rostrum*, or *Beak*, turned towards the *Course*. The other End, which joins on to the *Portico* of *Agapetus* (so named from him who built it, see the preceding Book, C. xv.) is very broad. At the Extremity of the *Rostrum*, or *Beak*, over a *Bar* that runs across

¹⁹ The *French* Translator of *Pausanias* covered so many Mistakes in it, that I hath inserted a Draught of the *Ἀφείρις*, or thought the following Description would *Barrier* here described, designed by the give him a clearer Idea of the *Barrier* and Chevalier *Follard*, with which I would *Hippodrome* of *Olympia*, without that willingly have obliged the Reader, had I Draught, than with it. not, by comparing it with *Pausanias*, dis-

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxxxv

the Entrance, (ἐν τῷ ναύονος) is placed a Figure of a *Dolphin* ²⁰ in *Bras*s. On the two Sides of this *Barrier*, each of which is above four hundred Feet in Length, are built *Stands*, or *Lodges*, as well for the *Riding-Horses* as the *Chariots*, which are distributed by *Lot* among the Competitors in those *Races*: and before all these *Lodges* is stretched a *Cable*, from one End to the other, to serve the Purpose of a *Barrier* (ὑπερλαμπρύας). About the Middle of the *Prow* is erected an *Altar*, built of unburnt Brick, which every *Olympiad* is plastered over with fresh Mortar; and upon the Altar stands a *Brazen Eagle*, which spreads out its Wings to a great Length. This *Eagle*, by Means of a Machine, which is put in Motion by the *President of the Horse-Races*, is made to mount up at once into the Air to such a Height, as to become visible to all the Spectators: and at the same Time the *Brazen Dolphin* before-mentioned sinks to the Ground. Upon that Signal the Cables, stretched before the *Lodges* on either Side of the *Portico of Agaptus*, are first let loose, and the Horses there stationed move out and advance 'till they come over-against the *Lodges* of those who drew the *second Lot*, which are then likewise opened. The same Order is observed by all the rest; and in this Manner they proceed through the *Beak*, or *Rosstrum*; before which they are drawn up in one Line, or Front, ready to begin the Race, and make Trial of the Skill of the Charioteers and the Fleetness of the Horses.

On that Side of the *Course*, which is formed by a Terrace raised with Earth, and which is the longest of the two Sides, near to the Passage that leads out of the *Course* across the Terrace, stands an Altar of a round Figure, dedicated to *Taraxippus*, the *Terror of the Horses*, as his Name imports; of whom more hereafter. The other Side of the

²⁰ The *Dolphin* here is a Symbol of *Nepcunstance*, the Reader might be surprized to meet with the Figure of a *Dolphin* in a figure, surname*d Hippus* or *Equusstrian*, for his having produced a *Horse* by striking the Earth with his Trident, according to the Fable: without recollecting this Cir- Games were consecrated.

Course is formed not by a Terrace of Earth, but a Hill of a moderate Height, at the End of which is erected a Temple, consecrated to *Ceres Chamyne*, whose *Priestess* has the Privilege of seeing the *Olympick Games*.

These are the most remarkable Particulars which *Pausanias* has thought fit to give us, relating to the *Olympick Hippodrome* or *Horse-Course*: and though from these we may be able to form a general Idea of its Figure, yet are there others no less necessary to be known, for the clear understanding the Nature of the Races; such as the *Length* and *Breadth* of the *Course*, the two *Metas* or *Goals*, round which the *Chariots* and *Horses* made their several *Turnings*, with the Distance between them; all which we are left to make out by Conjecture only.

The *Hippodrome* at *Constantinople*, of which there are yet some Traces remaining, is said by *Wheeler* to have been about *five hundred and fifty ordinary Paces* long, and about an *hundred and twenty* broad, and to have been anciently adorned with several excellent Ornaments, of which, says he, only three Pillars remain for me to give an Account of.

The first of these is a Pillar (or rather an Obelisk) of *Aegyptian Granite*, consisting of one Stone, about fifty Feet long, erected on a Pedestal of eight or ten Feet above Ground.---On the North Side of the Pedestal is a *Basse-relievo*, expressing the Manner how this Pillar was set up: and another below that representing the *Hippodrome*, as it was before that Pillar was set up, with the Manner of their *Horse-Races*. "It appears (to make use of his own Words) with *four* "principal Pillars, with a vacant Place in the Middle, (where *this* "is now erected) which made the Feet all equally distant from each "other. The ordinary *Stadiums* of the Ancients had but *three* Pillars, being but an hundred and twenty-five Paces long, which is "a great deal shorter than this. From the first Pillar they *started* "their *Horses*, having the Word *APRYTETE*, or *Courage*, written on the Pillar given them. At the middle they were called upon

" to

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxxxvii

“ to make haste, by the Word ΣΙΓΓΡΑΦΗ, which was written
 “ also on the Pillar. At the last they were to *return*, riding about
 “ the Pillar on the further End; therefore it had the Word ΚΑΜΥΟΝ
 “ engraven on it. By this *Basso-relievo* is expressed the Running of
 “ the Horses, and the Emperor standing in the Middle *crowning*
 “ the Victor. But what *that* held up by four Pillars, and the other
 “ single round Pillar were for, we could not conjecture, unless only
 “ for Ornament.” *Wheeler’s Travels*, L. ii. p. 183.

Whether the *Olympick Hippodrome* was so long and so wide as this of *Constantinople*, I will not determine; but that it was considerably longer than an ordinary *Stadium*, is evident: for as it appears from the *Basso-relievo* above described by *Wheeler*, and indeed from Medals, and many other Remains of Antiquity, that there were two Pillars placed towards the two Extremities of the *Hippodrome*, to serve as *Metas*, or *Goals*, round which the *Chariots* and *Horses* made several *Turnings*, a large Space of Ground must necessarily have been left beyond each of those Pillars, that the Horses, and especially the Chariots, might have sufficient Room to make their *Turnings*, without running against the *Pillars* or falling foul on one another: and this Space must have been large enough to admit of a great Number of Chariots. It has already been said, that *Alcibiades* for his own Share brought at one Time seven *Chariots*, and certainly he was not without Competitors to dispute the Crown with him. *Sophocles*, in a Description of a *Chariet-Race*, which I shall insert at the End of this Section, speaks of *Ten*, and *Pindar* of no less than *Forty Chariots*, contending at one and the same Time. If therefore in a Space of one hundred and twenty-five *Paces*, the Measure of an ordinary *Stadium*, Room enough be left beyond the *two Pillars* for a large Number of Chariots to pass, the Length remaining for the *Race* will be much too short. A proportionable Space must likewise have been left between the *Pillars*, which divided the *Course* in the Middle, and the two Sides of the *Hippodrome*.

The

lxxxviii A DISSERTATION ON

The *Circus Maximus*, (as described by *Dion. Hal.*) in which the Romans exhibited their *Chariot-Races*, was an oval Building of three *Stadia*, or eighteen hundred Feet in Length, and four *Plethra*, or four hundred Feet in Breadth, with a Row of Pillars, Obelisks, &c. running down the Middle; the first and last of which Pillars were the *Metas*, or Goals, round which the *Chariots* and *Horses* made their *Turnings*; but the Romans never suffered more than four *Chariots*, which they called a *Missus*, to start at one Time; and of these *Missus* or *Metus* they had commonly twenty-four, and sometimes many more, in one Day. Now, if it be considered that in the *Greecian Games* a much greater Number of *Chariots* frequently ran together, we may reasonably suppose their *Hippodromes* were at least as capacious as the *Circus Maximus* at Rome: the Dimensions of which, however, were much inferior to those of the *Hippodrome* at *Constantinople*, which, according to *Wheeler*, was seven and twenty hundred and fifty Feet long, and six hundred broad, taking a Pace to be equal to five Feet.

The Length of the *Course*, by which I mean the Distance between the two *Metas*, or Goals, is another Point that can be settled only by Conjecture. Had *Wheeler* set down the Distances of those Pillars, which he saw standing in the *Hippodrome* at *Constantinople*, it would have helped us much in this Inquiry: but this I shall refer to the ensuing *Section*, and content myself at present with observing, that both the *Chariots* and *Horses* ran several Times up and down the *Course*, and consequently made many *Turnings* round the Pillars erected at the two Extremities. *Pausanias* informs us, that in the *Olympick Hippodrome*, near that Pillar called *Nysse*, which I take to be that erected at the lower End of the *Course*, stood a Brazen Statue of *Hippodomia*, holding in her Hand a sacred Fillet, or *Dia-deme*, (*ταυρία*) prepared to bind the Head of *Pelops* for his Victory over *Oenomaus*: and it is probable, that all the Space between the Pillars was filled with Statues or Altars, as that in the *Hippodrome* of *Constantinople* seems to have been. Here, at least, stood the *Tripod*,

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. lxxxix

or Table, on which were placed the *Olive Crowns* and the Branches of *Palm* destined for the Victors, as shall be shewn hereafter.

From this Account it may easily be conceived, that in a *Chariot-Race* both the *Chariot* and the *Driver* were exposed to many Accidents, arising from the Nature of the *Course*. For as they were obliged to make several *Turnings* (about two and twenty in all) round the two *Pillars*, so did every *Charioteer* endeavour to approach as near as possible, in order to lessen the Compa's he was obliged to take. A Number of *Chariots* pushing all at once for this Advantage, which often gave the Victory, must necessarily have been in Danger either of running against the *Pillar* or falling foul upon one another, and in the Tumult many must have been broken or over turned, and their Drivers thrown out. This was the Fate of forty at one Time, as may be seen in an Ode of *Pindar*²¹, where the Poet fails not to congratulate the *Conqueror*, upon his having singly escaped such a Misfortune out of so great a Number of Competitors. It appears also in the same Ode, that the *Victor* was not insensible of the Singularity of his good Fortune; as an Acknowledgment for which he consecrated his *Chariot* to *Apollo*, in whose *Treasury* at *Parnassus* it was lodged, uninjured and entire, says the Poet, as when it came out of the Workman's Hands.

And indeed, when we consider the *Form* of the *Chariots*, the Attitude of the *Drivers*, the Rapidity of the Motion, and the Accident just now mentioned, arising from the Nature of the *Course* and the Number of *Chariots* that frequently ran together, we shall wonder less at their being thrown out of their *Chariots* and put in Danger of their Lives, than at their maintaining their Posts amid so many Difficulties, and coming off with Safety and Success. These *Chariots*, by some Figures of them upon ancient Medals, &c. seem to have been very low, open behind, but closed up before and on the Sides, with a Kind of *Parapet*, which was sometimes enriched with

²¹ Pindar's Pyth. Ode 5. see the Scholiast.

various Sorts of Ornaments. There does not appear to have been any *Seat* for the *Driver*, who is therefore always represented *standing*, and leaning forward to the *Horses*. They had but two *Wheels*, and consequently the fore Part of them must have been supported by the *Horses*, which inevitably rendered their Motion very unequal, and made it so difficult for the Charioteer to keep upon his Legs, that nothing but a long Course of Practice could insure a Man from falling in such a Situation. Which, therefore, is the most astonishing, the Folly, or the Vanity of *Nero*?

This great Emperor²², great I mean in Power and Dominion, but with regard to all the Objects of his Ambition, very little and contemptible, would needs shew his Skill in the Management of a *Chariot*. He chose indeed the noblest Theatre, and offered himself a Candidate for the *Olympick Crown*. That his Appearance might be no less extraordinary than his Ambition, and in some Measure proportionable to the Majesty of an Emperor of the World, he entered the *Hippodrome* at *Olympia*²³ in a *Chariot* drawn by *ten Horses*, which he undertook to drive himself, notwithstanding, says *Suetonius*, he had formerly, in a certain Poem of his, censured *Mithridates* for the same Thing. But the Event was by no means answerable, either to the Flattery of his Courtiers or the Vanity of his own Expectations. He was thrown out of his *Chariot*, to the great Hazard of his Life²⁴; and though he was put into it again, he found himself unable to finish the Race, and desisted. Notwithstanding which he was proclaimed *Conqueror*, and honoured with the *Olympick Crown*. To return the Compliment, at his Departure he presented the *Hellanodicks*, or *Judges of the Games*, with the Sum of 8000 *l.*²⁵ and all *Greece* with her Liberty. A Present that would have done him infinitely more Honour than an *Olympick Victory*, or indeed than any Victory, had it been frankly and generously be-

²² Xiph. & Suet. in Nerone.

²³ Suet. *ibid.*

²⁴ Xiph. Suet.

²⁵ Dion. in Nerone. 250,000 Drachmas, or 8072 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* See *Arbuth. Tables*, flowed,

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. xci

showed, and not paid down as the Price of Adulation ; and of a Compliance so mean and servile, as shews the *Grecians* to have been as incapable of Liberty as they were unworthy of it. For the *Equestrian Crown* was not the only Thing with which the *Eleans* complimented *Nero* : they broke, in Obedience to his Orders, the most sacred Laws ²⁶ of their Institution, and put off the Celebration of the *Olympick Games* for a whole Year, to wait his coming into *Greece* ; as if their Business, says *Philostratus*, had been to sacrifice to *Nero* instead of *Jupiter*. What followed after helps us admirably to discover the true Value of that Liberty which a Tyrant bestows : and the Vanity and Insincerity of those Praises and Honours that are extorted from Slaves and Flatterers. *Nero*, before his Departure, pillaged and wasted *Greece* ²⁷, notwithstanding her pretended Grant of Liberty ; put many People to Death, and confiscated the Estates of others : and the *Eleans* on their part, to revoke as much as in them lay the Honours they had conferred on *Nero*, left out of their *publick Register* ²⁸ that *Olympiad*, and that alone. *Galba* ²⁹ afterwards demanded of the *Hellenedicks*, as a Debt to the Crown, the eight thousand Pounds, with which *Nero* had rewarded their Partiality in adjudging to him the *Equestrian Crown*.

Upon the Day of the *Race* ³⁰, the *Chariots* at a certain Signal marched out of the *Lodges* above described, and entering the *Course* according to the Order before settled by *Lot*, were there drawn up in a *Line* ; but whether *a-breast*, or *one behind another*, is a Question, it seems, among the Learned. *Eusebius* (in his Comment upon *Homer* ³¹) says, the Ancients were of Opinion that they did not stand in *one Front* ; because it is evident that he who had the first *Lot* had a great Advantage over the other *Charioters*. The Moderns, I believe, are unanimously of the contrary Opinion ; and can shew, that the Reason assigned by *Eusebius* makes not in the least against the

²⁶ Philostr. L. v. ²⁷ Xiph. in Nero.

²⁸ See Scaliger ad Euseb. ad Num.

²⁹ Xiph. in Nero. ³⁰ Paul. L. vi.

³¹ See Pope's Homer, Iliad xxiii. ver.

Method of ranging the *Chariots* all *a-breast* ; in which Order the *Charioteer*, who stood *first*, had so clear an Advantage over his Competitors, as to make it necessary to dispose their Places by *Lot*. For as they were to turn round a *Pillar* erected at the farther End of the *Course*, he who had the *first Place on the Left Hand* was nearer to that *Pillar*, than those who were ranged on his Right Hand; had a less Circle to make upon the *Turn*, and consequently was not obliged to run so great a Compass of Ground. The Advantage, therefore, of the *first Place*, and the Disadvantage of the *last*, which was always increased in Proportion to the Number of Chariots that contended together, appeared so considerable to the learned *Montfaucon*, that he seems to think the Success of every *Charioteer* must have depended entirely upon his *Lot*. And indeed, had they been to *turn* but *once*, or could it be supposed that they maintained throughout the whole Race the same Order in which they were first arranged by *Lot*, the Place could not have been indifferent with regard to the *Victory* ; but as on the contrary they were obliged to make *twelve Turnings* round that *Pillar*, and *ten* round another erected at the *hither End* of the *Course*, the Advantage of the one, and the Disadvantage of the other, must have been liable to be lost and recovered many Times in the Race, by the Skill of the *Charioters*, the Swiftness of the Horses, or some of those Accidents already mentioned. It should also be considered, that though the *Charioteer*, who was placed *first* on the *Left Hand*, had some Advantage over the rest by being nearer the *Pillar*, yet he must have oftentimes been straitened for Room upon the *Turn*, especially if hard pressed by his Competitors, and consequently have been driven so near the *Pillar*, as to endanger the breaking or overturning his Chariot. In avoiding therefore this Danger, and in making these *Turnings* in as little a Compass as possible, consisted the chief Excellence of a *Charioteer* : as is evident from the large Instructions which old *Nesstor* ³² gives his

³² Homer's Il. xxiii.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. xciii

Son *Antilochus* upon that Head; and from what *Theocritus* tells us of the Education of *Hercules* ³³, whose supposed Father *Ambitryon* himself took the Pains to teach him the Management of the *Chariot*, though he left all his other Exercises to be taught him by other Masters.

But fond *Ambitryon*, with a Father's Zeal,
Skilful himself to guide the rapid Wheel,
In his own Art instructs his God-like Heir,
And teaches how to rule the whirling Carr;
How at the *Turn* with nicest Heed to roll,
Nor break the grazing Axle on the *Goal*.

It was however as much the Business of a *Charioteer* to approach as near as possible to this *Pillar*; as it was to avoid running foul upon it. To this Point therefore as to a Centre they all tended; and let any one imagine what a Noise, what a Bustle and Confusion, ten, twenty, and sometimes forty *Chariots* ³⁴ must have made bursting, at the *Sound of a Trumpet* ³⁵, all together from the *Barrier*! and pressing all to the same Point! What Skill and Courage in the *Charioteers*! What Obedience, what Strength and Swiftness in the *Horses*! What Ardour and Emulation in both must have been requisite to maintain the Advantages, which their own Lots had given them, or to surmount those of their Antagonists!

³⁶ Seest thou not how, when from the Goal they start,
The youthfull *Charioteers* with beating Heart
Rush to the Race, and panting scarcely bear
Th' Extremes of ferv'ish Hope and chilling Fear;
Stoop to the Reins, and lash with all their Force:
The flying Chariot kindles in the Course.

³³ Idyll. xxiv. ver. 117.

³⁴ Pindar.

³⁵ Soph. Electra.

³⁶ Virg. Georg. iii.

And now a-low, and now aloft they fly,

As born thro' Air, and seem to touch the Sky.

No Stop, no Stay; but Clouds of Sand arise,

Spurr'd and cast backward on the Follower's Eyes:

The Hindmost blows the Foam upon the First:

Such is the Love of Praise, an honourable Thirst!

Mr. DRYDEN.

But this was not all; they were to meet with more Difficulties, and of another kind, in the middle of the Course, and contend with the *Terrors of a Deity*, who sometimes snatched the Victory from him, who seemed to have carried it away from his Competitors. The Name of this *Deity* was *Taraxippus*, a Name given him from his Office; which was to scare and terrify the Horses, who accordingly as they passed by his Altar, which was of a round Form, and erected at the farther End of the *Course*, were wont to take Fright, says *Pausanius*¹⁷, without any apparent Cause: And so great was their Consternation, that, regarding no longer the Rein, the Whip, or the Voice of their Master, they frequently broke and overturned the *Chariot*, and wounded the *Driver*. The *Charioteers* therefore failed not to offer Sacrifices to *Taraxippus*, in order to deprecate his Wrath, and render him favourable to them.

I shall not trouble the Readers with the various Opinions relating to this pretended Deity and his Terrors, which are to be met with in *Pausanias*. I am apt to believe, with the *French* Translator of that Author, that (if, as *Pausanias* insinuates, there was any thing extraordinary in this matter) the Fright of the Horses was owing to some Artifice of those, who presided at the *Olympick Games*, and who (as he farther remarks) in order to make the Victory more glorious, were willing to make the Way to it more hazardous and difficult.

¹⁷ Lib. vi. cap. 20.

But

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. ICV

But though the old Saying, *The more Danger, the more Honour*, may seem to countenance this Remark of the French Abbé, ought we not rather to suppose that the *Eleans* (whose Views in every Part of this Institution seem to have been directed to some wise Purpose) intended by these Terrors to exclude the Competition of all those, whose Horses were not thoroughly *broke*, and taught not to be alarmed at any sudden Noise or unusual Appearance? A Quality in Horses at least as valuable, both for Service and Pleasure, as *Fleetness*, or any Accomplishment acquired in the *Ménage*. *To nonequity* *Q. N.*

I cannot help observing by the way, that the *Grecians* must have been credulous and superstitious even to Stupidity, and the *Eleans* consummate Masters in all the juggling Tricks and Artifices of Imposture, for a Fraud of this Nature to have been carried on for so long a Time, and in so publick a Place as the *Hippodrome* of *Olympia*, in the Name of a Divinity; and conducted with so much Secrecy and Success as to bring Votaries to his Altar with Offerings and Supplications: But *Olympia* was not the only Place in which this imaginary Deity was adored; there was likewise a *Taraxippus* in the *Isthmian Hippodrome*, as *Pausanias* informs us; who adds, that in *Nemea* indeed there was no Deity concerned in terrifying the Horses, but then there was a *Rock*, standing near the *Pillar* round which they turned, of the *Colour of Fire*, with the Brightness of which they were wont to be as much terrified as with that of Fire itself: but he observes at the same Time, that the Terror, which seized the Horses at the Sight of this Rock, was much inferior to that excited by the *Taraxippus* of *Olympia*. The same Author, speaking afterwards (L. x.) of the Terrors with which the Horses were sometimes seized in the *Pythick Hippodrome*, ascribes them to *Fortune*, whom he styles the Dispenser of Good and Evil in all human Affairs, and to whom he seems to have Recourse merely because there was no *Taraxippus* at *Delphi*, nor any terrifying Object, like the *fiery Rock* at *Nemea*, to help him to a

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Solution in a Case, which nothing but Ignorance and Superstition could consider as extraordinary.

Sophocles, ³⁸ in his Tragedy of *Electra*, hath given us a very noble Description of a *Chariot Race* in all its Forms, a Translation of which I shall insert in this Place, as well for the Entertainment of the Reader, as for the sake of verifying what has been said above by so unexceptionable an Authority.

A Description of a Chariot-Race.

When, on the *second Day*, in Order next
Came on the Contest of the rapid Carr,
As o'er the *Phocian* Plain the orient Sun
Shot his impurpled Beams, the *Pythick Course*
Orestes enter'd, circled with a Troop
Of *Charioteers*, his bold *Antagonists*.
One from *Achaia* came, from *Sparta* one,
Two from the *Libyan* Shores, well practis'd each
To rule the whirling Carr; with these, the fifth,
Orestes vaunting his *Thessalian* Mares.
Aetolia sent a sixth, with youthfull Steeds
In native Gold array'd. The next in Rank
From fair *Magneſia* sprung; of *Thrace* the eighth
His Snow-white Courſes from *Theſprotia* drove:
From Heav'n-built *Athens* the ninth Hero came,
A huge *Boeotian* the tenth Chariot fill'd.
These, when the *Judges* of the Games by *Lot*
Had fix'd their Order, and arranged the Carrs,
All, at the *Trumpet's* Signal, all at once
Burst from the *Barrier*, all together cheer'd
Their fiery Steeds, and shook the floating Reins.

³⁸ Ver. 700, &c.

Soon with the Din of rattling Carts was fill'd
The sounding *Hippodrome*, and Clouds of Dust
Ascending, tainted the fresh Breath of Morn.
Now mix'd, and press'd together on they drove,
Nor spar'd the smarting Lash, impatient each
To clear his *Chariot*, and outstrip the Throng
Of clashing Axles, and short-blowing Steeds,
That panted on each other's Necks, and threw
On each contiguous Yoke the milky Foam.

But to the *Pillar* as he nearer drew,
Orestes, reining in the *near-moſt* Steed,
While in a larger Scope, with loosen'd Reins,
And lash'd up to their Speed, the others flew,
Turn'd swift around the *Goal* his grazing Wheel.

As yet erect upon their whirling Orbs
Roll'd every Chariot, till the hard-mouth'd Steeds,
That drew the *Thracian* Carr, unmaſter'd broke
With Violence away, and turning ſhort,
(When o'er the *Hippodrome* with winged Speed
They had completed now the *ſeventh Career*)
Daſh'd their wild Foreheads 'gainſt the *Libyan* Carr.
From this one luckleſs Chance a Train of Ills
Succeeding, rudely on each other fell
Horses and *Charioters*, and ſoon was fill'd
With Wrecks of ſhatter'd Carts the *Phœcian* Plain.

This ſcen, th' *Athenian* with conſummate Art
His Courſe obliquely veer'd, and ſteering wide
With ſteddy Rein, the wild Commotion paſ'd
Of tumbling *Chariots*, and tumultuous Steeds.
Next, and, tho' laſt, yet full of Confidence,
And Hopes of Victory, *Orestes* came.
But when he ſaw, of his Antagoniſts

o

Him

Him only now remaining, to his Mares
 Anxious he rais'd his stimulating Voice,
 And now with equal Fronts a-breast they drove,
 Now with alternate momentary Pride
 Beyond each other push'd their stretching Steeds.

Erect *Oresses*, and erect his Carr
 Thro' all the *number'd Courses* now had flood;
 But luckless in the last, as round the Goal
 The wheeling Courser turn'd, the *hither* Rein
 Imprudent he relax'd, and on the *Stone*
 The shatter'd Axle dashing, from the Wheels
 Fell headlong, hamper'd in the tangling Reins.
 The frighted Mares flew divers o'er the *Course*.

The throng'd Assembly, when they saw the Chief
 Hurl'd from his *Chariot*, with Compassion mov'd,
 His Youth deplor'd, deplor'd him glorious late
 For mighty Deeds, now doom'd to *mighty Woes*,
 Now dragg'd along the Dust, his Feet in Air:
 'Till hasting to his Aid, and scarce at length
 The frantic Mares restraining, from the Reins
 The *Charioteers* releas'd him, and convey'd
 With Wounds and Gore disfigur'd to his Friends.
 "The just *Ambitions* on th' *Athenian* Steeds
 "The *Delphick Laurel* solemnly conferr'd.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES.

xcix

SECTION XIII.

Of the several Kinds of Chariot-Races.

THE Laws and Customs of the Chariot-Race having been explained in the foregoing *Section*, it remains to take Notice only, that these Laws were general, and extended equally to all the various Species of *Chariots*; excepting that the *Length* of the *Race* was diminished for some of them, as I shall observe presently.

The Chariot first introduced into the *Olympick Hippodrome*, and that of which I have been hitherto speaking, was the τέλειον ἄγμα¹, or *complete Chariot*, named either because it was drawn by *full-aged* Horses, or because it was drawn by *four Horses*, which Number seems to have made a *complete Set* among the Ancients. These four Horses were all ranged a-breast, the two middle ones only were harnessed to the Chariot by the *Yoke*, from whence they were called *Zygi*; the two *side* Horses were fastened either to the *Yoke*,² or to some other Part of the Chariot by their *Traces*, and were called *Parcōri*, *Parasciri*, *Seirophori*, and *Seiræi*, and their Reins or Traces *Seiræ* and *Parcoria*.

Eriethonius, according to *Virgil*, was the first that drove with *four* Horses, and, according to *Manilius*, was for that Invention honoured with a Place among the heavenly Bodies.

Primus Eriethonius curvus, & quatuor ausus
Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insillere victor. Virg. Geor. iii.

Quem curru primum volitantem Jupiter alto
*Quadrjugis conspexit equis, cæloque sacrauit*³.

¹ Τέλειον signifies *adultus* as well as *perfectus*.
pag. 12. lin. 22. Edit. Scalig.

² *Caelius Rhodig.*

³ *Manil. lib. i.*

C A DISSERTATION ON

Pagondas of Thebes had the Honour of first obtaining the Prize of this Sort of Chariot-Race in the Olympick Games ⁴; as *Eriethonius* had in the Games called *Panathenea*.

In the ninety-third Olympiad was added the Race of the Chariot called *Synoris*, which was drawn by a Yoke, or one Pair only of full-aged Horses.

The *Apene* was a Chariot drawn by two Mules, after the manner of the *Synoris*, as *Pausanias* tells us, and was introduced into the Olympick Games by one *Alendarastus*, as we learn from *Pindar's* Scholiast ⁵. I have called it a Chariot, though if it resembled the *Apene* described by *Homer* in the xxivth Iliad ⁶, it should more properly be called a Wagon; and indeed that Account of it agrees best with what *Pausanias* says ⁷, who observes that the Race of the *Apene* could pretend neither to Antiquity nor Beauty, and that Mules were held in such Abomination by the *Eleans*, that they permitted none of those Animals to be bred in their Country. And indeed the Race of the *Apene* was but of a short Continuance, having been abolished within a very few Olympiads after its first Admission.

Pausanias and the Greek Commentator upon *Pindar* ⁸, differ so widely in their Accounts of the Times when the *Apene* was admitted and abolished, that it would be in vain for me to endeavour to reconcile them; especially as the latter disagrees even with himself. I shall therefore follow the Account of *Pausanias*, who at least is consistent with himself: and according to whom the *Apene* was introduced into the Olympick Games in the seventieth Olympiad, and abolished by Proclamation in the eighty-fourth ⁹.

In the ninety-ninth Olympiad was introduced the Πένταλον ἄρμα, which was a Chariot drawn by four Colts, as is evident from what ¹⁰ *Pausanias* immediately subjoins concerning the Σωαγίς Πένταλον, or Chariot drawn by two Colts, which, he tells us, was introduced in the

⁴ See Serv. in Virg. loc. cit.

⁵ Olymp. Od. 5.

⁶ Ver. 266.

⁷ Lib. v. c. 9.

⁸ Olymp. Od. 5.

⁹ Lib. v. cap. 9.

¹⁰ Lib. v. cap. 8.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. ci

hundred and twenty-ninth *Olympiad*, and that one *Belisiché*, a *Macedonian Lady*, was the first that carried off the *Crown* in that *Race*.

I shall now endeavour to settle the different Lengths of the *Race* assigned to each Species of these Chariots; a Point not yet determined by any Author that I know of. In order to this, I shall beg Leave to produce two Passages, one from *Pindar*, and another from his *Scholiast*. That of *Pindar* is as follows:

¹¹ A. Τῶν νῦν γλυκὺς ἡμέρος ἔχει
Δωδεκάγναμpton περὶ τέγμα δρόμος
Ἰππων Φυεῖσθαι.

¹² The Words of the Scholiast explaining this Passage are, ἡ γὰρ ὁ δωδεκάκις οἱ ἀγωνιζόμενοι τεθρίπτοις περιήρχοντο. ἡ δωδεκάγναμpton τὸ ἑῖ γναμpton ἔχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἑῖ δρόμος ἐποίησεν τὸ τέλειον ἀγῶνα τῶν ἱππων, τὰ δὲ παλαιόν, ἡ.

Τέγμα in this Passage of *Pindar* signifies the *Pillar* erected at the *End* of the *Course*, round which the *Chariots* turned, as has been shewn, and the Epithet *δωδεκάγναμpton* applied to that imports, that they turned *twelve Times* round that *Pillar*; and consequently that they ran *twelve Times* up, and as often *down* the *Course*.

Δρόμος signifies *cursus*, a *Race* or *Course*, and because (as I suppose) the first ¹³ *Race* at *Olympia* consisted only of *one Length* of the *Stadium* only, as is evident from the following Passages ¹⁴, διὰ νῶς δρόμος ὁ διπλῆς ἐνὰ ποιεῖν καμψίγῃα, i. e. *Diavlos est cursus duplex unum faciens flexum*; and ὁ δολιχὸς ἐπιδόρυμος τρεῖς γὰρ καμψίγῃας εἶχε, καὶ τὸ καμψίγῃος ἦμιν. *Dolichus, cursus septemplex: tres enim flexus habuit, Et di- midium flexus.*

¹¹ Olymp. Ode 3. ver. 58.
Quarum [arborum, Olivarum scilicet] cuibant quadrigæ; vel δωδεκάγναμpton, ut-
cum [Herculem] dulce desiderium habebat, pote duodecim flexus habentem; quandoqui-
duodecies inflexum circa terminum curricula dem duodecim cursus perfecit τὸ τέλειον ἀγῶνα,
equeum plantare. πάλαιον vero οἶον.

¹³ The Stadium, or simple Foot Race.
¹⁴ Tzetzes, citatus a P. Fabro Agonist.
Nempe terminum. Quem duodecies cir- Lib. i. c. 28.

But

cii. A DISSERTATION ON

But Δρόμος, when applied to the Horse-Races, signified a *Course* of four *Stadia*, as is evident from these Words of Hesychius; ἵππειος δρόμος τετρασάδιός τις, and from these of Pausanias, δρόμοι δὲ εἰσι τὴ ἵππιδι μῆκος μὲν διὰυλοι δύο. Now as δαδὲκα δρόμους and δαδὲκα γράμματα in the above cited Passage from the *Scholias* of Pindar are plainly of the same import, we are to understand by Δρόμος ἵππειος, a *Course* consisting of one *Turn*, or *Round*, once up and down the *Hippodrome*; which whole *Course*, or *Round*, being equal to four *Stadia*, it may from hence be inferred that the *Two Pillars* (*viz.* that from which the *Horses started*, and that round which they *turned*) which divided the *Course* into two equal Lengths, were two *Stadia* distant from each other, consequently the whole Length of the *Race* of the τέλειον ἄγωνα, or *Chariot drawn by full-aged Horses*, consisting of twelve *Rounds*, amounted to forty-eight *Stadia*, or six *Grecian Miles*; that of the Πώλων ἄγωνα, or *Chariot drawn by Colts*, consisting of eight *Rounds*, to two and thirty *Stadia*, or four *Grecian Miles*. A *Grecian Mile*, according to *Arbutnot's* Computation, was somewhat more than eight hundred Paces; an *English Mile* is equal to 1056.

Under the two Denominations of the τέλειον ἄγωνα and πώλων ἄγωνα, the *Scholias* of Pindar meant, as I imagine, to comprehend all the Species of Chariots; which he hath ranked in two Classes, not by the Number but the *Age* of the Horses: as appears from his putting Πώλων ἄγωνα in Opposition, or Contra-distinction to τέλειον ἄγωνα. For τέλειος, as I observed before, signifies not only *perfectus*, but *adultus* also. By the Words τέλειον ἄγωνα therefore in this Place we are to understand a *Chariot drawn by full-aged Horses*, which takes in the *Synoris*, or *Chariot and Pair of full-aged Horses*; as well as the Τέλειππον, or *Chariot and Four*; and by Πώλων ἄγωνα, a *Chariot drawn by Colts*, or *under-aged Horses*, whether four or only two in Number. The Race of which latter consisted of eight *Rounds*, that of the former of twelve.

That

That the *Race* of the Πάλικον ἄγνα, or *Chariot* drawn by *under-aged Horses*, though *four* in Number, consisted only of *eight Rounds*, is evident from the Passage of *Sophocles*, a Translation of which was inserted at the End of the preceding Section. For as the Words σείσαιον ἵππων (Ver. 742 of the Original) prove that the *Chariot* of *Orestes* was drawn by *four Horses*, so doth the Word Πάλαι, shew that those *Horses* were *under-aged*: and whoever considers attentively, what is there said about the *sixth and seventh Round*, ἕκτον καὶ ἐβδόμου ὁρῶμεν, will find Reason to conclude, that the Accident which befell *Orestes* happened in the last and *eighth Round*. Though *Du Faur* thinks it manifest from this very Passage, that the *Chariot Race*, at least in the Times of *Sophocles* or *Orestes*, consisted of no more than *seven Rounds*. But had he observed that the *eight Chariots*, which are there said to have been overturned, were then running the *seventh Round*, and that *Orestes*, who with the *Athenian* still continued the *Race*, was thrown out of his *Chariot* some Time after, he must have seen that the *Race* consisted of more than *seven Rounds*; and that it consisted precisely of *eight* we have Reason to conclude, from what has been produced from the *Scholiast* of *Pindar*, relating to the πάλικον ἄγνα, or *Chariot* drawn by *under-aged Horses*.

Indeed, the whole Story of *Orestes* contending in the *Pythian Games* was a mere Forgery of the Poets, to serve the Purposes of his Tragedy: it is, however, to be presumed, that in order to give it the greater Air of Truth and Probability, he kept close to the Laws and Customs of those *Games*. And as the Laws and Customs relating to the same Kinds of Exercises, seem to have been the same in the several *sacred Games* of *Greece*, it is very allowable in all parallel Cases to apply to one what is related of the other. Thus, as we are told by *Pindar's Scholiast*, that the *Race* of the *Chariot* drawn by *under-aged Horses* consisted of *eight Rounds* in the *Olympick Games*, we may affirm the same of the same kind of *Race* in the *Pythian Games*: and in like Manner we may conclude, that the *Signal* for *starting*

was

civ A DISSERTATION ON

was given by the Sound of a Trumpet in the Olympic Chariot-Races, from Sophocles having informed us that this was the Signal given in the Pythick Hippodrome.

SECTION XIV.

Of the Race of Riding Horses.

THAT Chariots were in Use before *Riding Horses* need not be observed to any one, that is acquainted with *Homer* ; among all whose Heroes, *Greek* and *Trojan*, there is not one that ever makes his Appearance on Horseback, excepting *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* , mounted upon the Horses of *Rhesus*, which they had taken in their Expedition by Night, after having killed their Master in his Sleep. It appears, however, by this Instance, that neither the Heroes nor the Horses were utter Strangers to the Art of *Riding* : as by another Passage in the fifteenth *Iliad* it is evident, that *Horseman-ship* was carried even to some Degree of Perfection, at least in the Time of that Poet, who lived but in the next Generation after the Siege of *Troy*, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*. The Passage² last mentioned is as follows :

‘Ως δ’ ὅτ’ ἀνὴρ ἵπποισι κελυτίζεν, Εἴc.

So when a Horseman from the watry Mead
(Skill’d in the Manage of the bounding Steed)
Drives four fair Couriers, practis’d to obey,
To some great City thro’ the publick Way :
Safe in his Art, as Side by Side they run,
He shifts his Seat, and vaults from one to one :

¹ See Il. K.

² Il. O. ver. 679. Pope’s Il. xv. ver. 822.

And

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cv

And now to this, and now to that he flies :
Admiring Numbers follow with their Eyes.

I the rather quote this Passage, because I find some Authors ³ have introduced an Exercise like this into the *Olympick Games* ; upon what Authority I know not ; for I do not find in those Books, that I have looked into, mention made of any other *Race of Riding Horses* than those of the *Celes* and the *Caspe*. And as to that particular Piece of Horsemanship described above, *Eustathius* in his Comment ⁴ upon *Homer* tells us, that in the old *Scholias* it is written, that *Demetrius* said he had seen a Man, vaulting, in the Manner described by the Poet, from the Back of one Horse to another, holding the Bridles at the same Time, and keeping the Horses to their Speed without any Interruption or Incumbrance. Which implies, that such a Sight was very uncommon ; and consequently that no such Exercise could ever have been admitted into any of the *Games of Greece*.

The Word *καλντρίζειν*, used by the Poet in the Beginning of this Simile, may possibly have induced some People to imagine, that the *Riders* of the Horses called *Κέλητες*, *Celates*, were accustomed to leap from one Horse to another, as if that Word was a Term of the *Manège*, of which the Verses that follow after were no more than an Explanation. It is certain, however, from a Passage in the *Odyssey* ⁵, that by *ἵππος Κέλης* *Homer* meant to signify no more than a *Riding Horse* ⁶, and consequently that by the Word *καλντρίζειν*, which is derived from *Κέλης*, no more is to be understood in this Place than simply to ride.

This Interpretation of *Κέλης* (*Celes*) may be farther confirmed by the Authorities of *Pindar* and *Pausanias*, particularly by a Story re-

³ Rollin's Hist. An. tom. v. p. 72. Edit. *Amst.* ⁴ See Barnes in loc.

⁵ *Odyss.* E. ver. 371. See the Scholiast. *μανος στελλάειος ὁ γυμνός.* By which last Word also it looks as if the *Rider* was naked, like

⁶ That this is the true Meaning of *Κέλης* the *Athletes* who contended in the *Gymnastick Exercises*. is confirmed by the following Words of *Sui-*

cvi A DISSERTATION ON

lated in the last mentioned Author of a *Mare*⁷, named *Aura*, belonging to one *Phidolas a Corinthian*. This Mare, says the Historian, having accidentally thrown her *Rider* soon after she had started from the *Barrier*, continued the Race of her own Accord, and turned round the *Pillar* as if the *Rider* had been still upon her Back; upon hearing the *Trumpet* she mended her Pace, 'till coming in before her *Antagonists*, she stopped short over-against the *Judges* of the *Games*, as conscious of having gained the Victory. The Victory was accordingly adjudged to her Master *Phidolas*, who, by erecting in Return a Statue to her Honour, intimated to whom the Merit of that Victory was due.

In this Story there are two or three Particulars worth observing: as first, there is no mention of any other Horse or Mare, that shared the Victory with *Aura*; and consequently, in the Race called *Celes*, each Competitor made use of but one single Horse. Secondly, I shall take Notice, that the victorious *Aura* was of the Feminine Gender, and from thence take occasion to acquaint the Reader, that in all the *Races*, as well of Riding Horses as of Chariots, *Mares* or *Horses* were indifferently used; excepting in the Race named *Calpé*, in which *Mares* only were employed, as I shall shew presently. In the third Place, it is observable, that though the *Rider* was thrown off in the very Beginning of the Race, yet was the Crown awarded to *Phidolas*, the Master of *Aura*; to whom certainly no less was due, than if his *Mare* had conquered under the Conduct and Direction of her *Rider*.

By the Circumstances of *Aura*'s mending her Pace upon hearing the *Trumpet*, I think we may conclude, that the *Trumpet* either did not sound during the whole Race, but at the last *Round* only, or that it sounded differently in different Periods of the Course. There was a Meaning in the Sound of the *Trumpet*, which *Aura* understood. She was probably an old *Stager* there, or had been made ac-

⁷ Lib. vi. c. 13.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cvi

quainted in the *Manage* with all the Rules and Customs observed in the *Hippodrome* at *Olympia*.

The Race of *full-aged Riding Horses*, of which I have been hitherto speaking, was instituted in the *thirty-third Olympiad*, and that of the *Πῶλος Κῆλος*, or *under-aged Riding Horse*, in the *one hundred and thirty-first*.

I shall not here enter into the Question, how it came to pass that the Use of Riding-Horses was posterior to that of Chariots; since that Question can be answered only by Conjectures. The Fact is so notorious, that, according to *Monf. Polard's*, Chariots were used in War above a thousand Years before there was any such Thing as Cavalry among the Ancients; the Use of which, one would imagine, *says* that Gentleman, should notwithstanding have come into their Heads before that of Chariots. They seem to have had a terrible Notion of being mounted upon the Back of a Horse, and have accordingly made Monsters of those People whom they first beheld in that Attitude; to which they were not very speedily reconciled. Time, indeed, wore off that Amazement by Degrees; and their Intercourse with other Nations not only rendered *Riding Horses* familiar to them, but convinced them likewise of the Advantages accruing from the Use of Cavalry. Whence it came to pass, that an Order of *Equites*, or *Horsemen*, was instituted in most of their Commonwealths; to whom, as in *Athens*, was allotted the second Rank in the State. Upon the same Principle, perhaps, was the *ἵππος κῆλος*, or *Riding Horse*, admitted into the *Olympick Hippodrome*, and held in such Estimation, that although the Race of Riding Horses was neither so magnificent nor so expensive, and consequently not so Royal as the *Chariot-Race*, yet we find among the Competitors in this Exercise, the Names of *Philip King of Macedon*, and *Hiero King of Syracuse*. To the latter is the first *Olympick Ode* of *Pindar*.

* *Obfer. fur la Bataille de Melfenie.*

cviii A DISSERTATION ON

inscribed, in which honourable mention is made of the *Horse Pherenicus*, whose Fleetness gained for his Master the *Olympick Crown*.

The *Race of the Calpé* was performed with *Mares*; from whose Backs the *Riders* were accustomed to leap towards the *latter End*, that is, in the last Stage or Period of the *Course*; and laying hold of the *Bridles* finished the *Race* in that Manner. The same Custom is still observed, says *Pausanias*, by those *Riders* called *Anabatae*, between whom and the *Riders* in the *Calpé* there is no other Difference, than that the *Anabatae* are distinguished by some particular Marks, which they carry about them, and ride upon *Horses* instead of *Mares*. The *Race of the Calpé* was instituted in the *Seventy-first Olympiad*, and, together with the *Aphené*, abolished in the *Eighty-fourth*.

We are not to conclude from what *Pausanias* says of the *Anabatae*, that the *Calpé* was afterwards revived under another Name, and admitted again into the *Olympick Games*, with those Alterations he speaks of. Had this been the Case, he would undoubtedly have told us so expressly, after having been so particular in his Account of the Times in which the *Calpé* was instituted and abolished.

I cannot give the Reader any Information of the *Length* of this *Race*, nor of those of the *Celes*: but I think it reasonable to suppose, that the latter, distinguished, as has been observed, into two Classes, one of *full-aged*, and the other of *under-aged* Horses, consisted of the same Number of *Rounds* as those of the Chariots, distinguished in like Manner into two Classes.

Neither can I determine the different Ages that ranked the Horses in one or the other Class; nor whether the *Weight* of the *Riders*, or the *Sizes* of the *Horses*, were taken into Consideration. All I can say to it is, that those Points seem to have been left to the Discretion of the *Hellanodicks*, who were appointed to examine the *young Horses* that were entered to run for any of the *Equestrian Crowns*⁹, and

⁹ Paul. L. v. c. 24.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cix

who were sworn before the Statue of *Jupiter Horcius*, to give a true and impartial Judgment upon the Matters left to their Examination, without taking any Reward; and not to discover the Reasons which disposed them to reject some and admit others.

SECTION XV.

Of the Candidates for the Olympick Crown.

FROM what has been said in the preceding Sections of the Nature of the several Exercises, of which the *Olympick Games* consisted, it is natural to conclude that every one, who fancied himself qualified for obtaining an *Olympick Victory*, was admitted to contend for it. But if it be considered that the *Olympick Games* were Part of a Religious Festival, instituted in Honour of the King and Father of all the Pagan Deities, and solemnized with the utmost Splendour and Magnificence, by pompous Deputations from every State of *Greece*: that the Assembly, from the great Concourse of People of all Orders and Conditions, who upon these Occasions usually resorted to *Olympia*, either from Devotion or Curiosity, or other Motives, must have been very numerous and august: and lastly, that a *Victory* in the *Olympick Games* was attended with many considerable Honours and Immunities: Whoever, I say, will take these several Points into Consideration, will not be surprized to find all those, who offered themselves as *Candidates* for the *Olympick Crown*, before they were admitted to contend for it, subjected to such Conditions, as were necessary to maintain that Order and Decorum which became so sacred and solemn an Institution; and required to pass through such an Examination, as might tend to exclude all, who should in any Degree appear unworthy of the Honour of contending for the *Olympick Olive*.

What

What these were I shall now proceed to shew.

Some Time before the Celebration of the Games, the *Candidates* were obliged to give in their Names to one of the *Hellandicks*, and to specify at the same Time the several *Exercises* in which they proposed to contend. I say *some Time*, because it is not certain how long before the Games they were obliged to do this; nor whether they were required to do it in Person, or whether a Notification of such an Intention by a Messenger, or by Letter only, was deemed sufficient.

The *Candidates*, indeed, for the *Equestrian Crown*, were exempted from personal Attendance, even in the Day of Trial; and consequently had the Privilege of entering their Names by *Proxy*.

Monf. *Burette*¹ pretends, that this Privilege was equally allowed to the other *Candidates*; for which, however, he produces no Authority. And indeed, I cannot see of what Service it could have been to them, considering the Obligation they were under of repairing to *Elis*, by a certain Day, under the Penalty of being excluded from contending for the *Crown*: an Evidence of which² *Pausanias* hath given us in the Instance of *Apollonius Rhantus*. *Apollonius*, who was of *Alexandria*, was not only *fined* by the *Hellandicks* for Contumacy, in not appearing on the Day appointed; but not permitted to engage in the Combat, notwithstanding he pretended to have been detained in the *Cyclades* by contrary Winds. *Heracides*, his Countryman and *Antagonist*, took Care to prove the Falshood of that Plea; and shewed that the true Reason of *Apollonius's* coming so late, was his staying to pick up the *lucrative Prizes* in the several Games of *Ionia*. *Apollonius* upon this, and some other *Candidates* who were in the same Circumstance, were excluded the Combat; and *Heracides*, without a Battle, obtained the *Crown*: at which *Apollonius* was so exasperated, that, armed as he happened to be with the *Cæstus* for the

¹ 2 Mem. sur les Athletes.

² Lib. v. c. 21.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxi

Engagement, he ran upon *Heraclides*, who was receiving the *Crown*, and pursued him even to the Seat of the *Hellandicks*; which childish Fury, says *Pausanias*, had like to have cost him dear.

By this Story it is evident there was a Time prefixed for the Appearance of the *Candidates*; but we are left again to conjecture how much that Time preceded the Celebration of the *Games*, though I think there are some very good Marks to direct us in that Inquiry.

I have already observed, that though the *Games* themselves lasted but *five Days*, the *Preparation* for the *Games* took up *thirty*. These *thirty Days* were employed in exercising the *Candidates*, as *Tætzet* and *Philostratus*³ inform us; from whence it may be inferred, that they were required to resort to *Elis* at least *thirty Days* before the Celebration of the *Games*.

The Custom of putting the *Candidates* into a Course of Exercise for *thirty Days* before the *Games*, furnishes us with a very good Reason for the rigid Proceeding of the *Hellandicks* with regard to *Apollonius*. It was for the Dignity of the *Olympick Games* that none should be admitted to contend in them without being duly prepared⁴. The Preparation was accordingly very severe, and the Exercises enjoined the *Candidates* upon that Occasion, were more laborious and intense than upon any other. They were attacked in every Part of their Science, and put upon trying to the utmost their Patience and Fortitude, in supporting Hunger and Thirst, and Heat and Cold, and Toil, continued sometimes, without Intermission, for a whole Day together. This Trial the *Candidates* were obliged to undergo, that they might be thoroughly acquainted with their own Strength before they entered the *Stadium*; and not, by rashly engaging in an Attempt to which they were by no means equal, run the hazard of disgracing a Spectacle which all *Greece* was assembled to behold: and of vilifying, by an unworthy Competition, that

³ In *Lycoph.* in *Vit. Apoll.* L. v. ⁴ *Fab. Agon. Lib. i. c. 32. &c. L. ix. c. 10, 11, 16.*

cxii A DISSERTATION ON

Crown, for which the most eminent and most deserving were always *Candidates*.

We may conclude, however, by *Apollonius's* pleading against the Sentence of the *Hellandicks*, that they had a Power of dispensing with the Non-observance of this Law, in Cases where the Offence was involuntary, and proceeded from Accidents, which were either unforeseen or unavoidable ; such as Sickness, contrary Winds, and many other : but then such Accident must have been fully proved, without Fraud or Equivocation ; which indeed it was not very easy for a *Candidate* to make use of without being detected, either by his *Antagonists*, or by some one in an Assembly, that was composed of Inhabitants of every City, nay, even of every Village throughout *Greece*.

The Place where the preparatory Exercises were performed, was the *Old-Gymnasium* in *Elis*⁵ ; where the *Hellandicks* attended every Day, as well to distribute the proper Exercises to the several *Classes* of *Candidates*, as to see that they were duely performed : though it is to be supposed, that in the Performance of them the *Candidates* were governed entirely by the several Masters of the *Gymnasium*, whose Office it was to prescribe the Manner, and regulate the Portion of each Exercise.

Near this *Gymnasium* was the *Forum* of the *Eleans*, in which, says *Pausanias*⁶, they were wont to break and exercise their Horses, and from thence was the *Forum* named *Hippodromos*, or the *Horse Course*. But I am afraid it cannot be concluded from this Passage, that the *Horses*, which were entered to run for the several *Equestrian Crowns*, were, like the *Gymnastick Candidates*, obliged to go through a preparatory Course of Exercise. That they were indeed kept in constant Exercise there is little Room to doubt ; but whether that was

⁵ *Paul. L. vi. c. 23.*

⁶ *L. vi. c. 24.*

done in Compliance with any Law or Custom of the *Olympick Games*, or at the Discretion of their Masters, is, I think, not at all evident.

There is the same Uncertainty relating to the Time, in which the Competitors for the *Equestrian Crown* were required to enter their Names, and send their *Chariots* and their *Horses* to *Olympia*. But it is not unlikely that in all Things, excepting personal Attendance, they were subject to the same Regulations with the other *Candidates*, as they undoubtedly were in some Instances that I shall mention presently. If this be so, all the above stated Difficulties will be removed; and it will be clear that the *Equestrian Candidates* were required to enter their Names, and send their *Chariots* and their *Horses* to *Elis*, at least *thirty Days* before the Celebration of the *Games*; and that the *Charioteers* and *Riders*, who were in these Cases allowed to be Proxies for their Masters, were subject to the customary *Preparation*, and consequently went through a proper Course of Exercise during the said *thirty Days*.

The Probability of this Argument will appear yet stronger, when we come to consider the *Oath* taken by the *Gymnastick Candidates*, before they were finally admitted; and from which there is no Reason to think that the *Equestrian Candidates* were exempted. The former in this swear, that they had exactly performed every Thing required of them by way of Exercise, for *ten Months* together. In these *ten Months* were included, as I suppose, the *thirty Days*, or *Month*, spent in exercising themselves in *Elis*: for the other *nine* they were probably left at Liberty to practise, each in the *Gymnasium* of his own Town or Country. That only *thirty Days* of this *ten Months Preparation* were spent in *Elis*, is, I think, evident from the following Words of *Philostratus*⁷: *Ἡ δὲ αὖτε τὰς ἀθλητὰς ἐπειδὴ ἤνυ Οὐλύμπια γυμνάζεσθαι ἡμέραν τριακοντὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἡλίδι*, that is, “The *Elleans*, upon the Approach of the *Olympick Games*, exercise the *Athletes* for thirty Days together in the Town of *Elis* itself.”

⁷ Vit. Ap. L. v.

The same Author tells us, that this long and severe *Probation*, which the *Candidates* were obliged to undergo, first at home and afterwards at *Elis*, was usually concluded with an Exhortation, addressed to them by the *Hellandicks*, before their Departure for *Olympia*. "If ye have exercised yourselves in a Manner suitable to the Dignity of the *Olympick Games*, and are conscious of having done "no Action that betrays a slothfull, cowardly, and illiberal Disposition, proceed boldly. If not, depart, all ye that are so minded."

But notwithstanding this Permission to depart, there is an Instance of a *Pancratiast*, one *Serapion* of *Alexandria*, who in the 201st *Olympiad* was punished for running away the Day before the Battle was to have come on; he was afraid, it seems, of his *Antagonists*, and fled: for which Piece of Cowardice, he was fined by the *Hellandicks*; who, to perpetuate the Memory both of the Punishment and the Crime, out of that Fine erected a *Statue* to *Jupiter*. There is no other Instance, says *Pausanias*, of the like Offence; but this alone is sufficient to demonstrate, that it was reckoned a kind of *Desertion* in a *Candidate*, to retire before a Combat in which he had listed himself to engage.

But this Flight of *Serapion* must be supposed to have happened after his Arrival at *Olympia*; where, at the Opening of the Games, a Herald publicly proclaimed the Names of all the *Candidates*, as they were entered in a Register, kept by the *Hellandicks* for that Purpose; together with the exact Number of *Competitors* in each kind of *Exercise*. For a *Candidate* to decline the Combat, after having declared himself a *Competitor*, and in so publick a Manner, as it were, defied his *Antagonists*, was certainly a kind of *Desertion* worthy of Disgrace and Punishment.

After (and, as I imagine, immediately after) the Herald had thus called over the *Candidates*, who doubtless appeared and answered to their Names, they were obliged to undergo an Examination of another kind, consisting of the following Interrogatories: 1. Were they Freemen?

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. CXV

Freemen? 2. Were they *Grecians*? 3. Were their Characters clear from all infamous and immoral Stains?

That the *Candidates* for the *Olympick Crown* were to be *Freemen*, is sufficiently evident from a Passage⁸ in *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*; who, as a Rhetorician, laying down Rules for haranguing them before they entered into the *Stadium*, among other Topics, which he there recommends as proper on that Occasion to be insisted upon, advises the Orator to remind them of their being *free*: a Consideration (says he) that ought to preserve those who value themselves upon that Title from incurring, by the Commission of any base or unworthy Action, the Punishments due only to *Slaves*. By Punishments, in this Place, is meant (besides Fines, Exclusion from the Games, &c.) the bodily Correction that was inflicted by Order of the *Hellenedicks*⁹ upon those, who were guilty of an Irregularity, of any fraudulent or corrupt Practices; which, as they are the genuine Product of mean and servile Minds, ought therefore to be repressed by servile Punishments.

The Story of *Alexander*, the Son of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as it is related by *Herodotus*¹⁰, may serve to shew that none but *Grecians* were admitted to contend in the *Olympick Games*.

Alexander being ambitious of obtaining the *Olympick Crown*, entered himself a *Candidate* among those who aimed at winning that Honour in the *Foot Race*; but was objected to by his *Antagonists* as being a *Macedonian*, and told, that *Barbarians* were not permitted to contend in those *Games*. *Alexander* thought fit to clear himself of this Objection; and shewed, that although he was Prince of *Macedon*, he was descended of a Family that came originally from *Argos*. The *Hellenedicks* allowed of his Pretensions, and received him as a *Competitor* for the *Olympick Crown*, which nevertheless he did not obtain.

⁸ In Proleptico Athlet.

⁹ See Fab. Agon. L. i. c. 19.

¹⁰ Lib. v.

Upon this Point of the Extraction of the *Candidates* the *Eleans* were so scrupulous, as to admit none, who could not declare his Father and his Mother, and shew that there was no *Barbary* or *Adultery* in his Lineage. For this Piece of Intelligence we are indebted to *Themistius*, who instances in the Case of one *Philammon*; upon whose Extraction some Doubts arising, he was not suffered to engage, 'till one *Aristotle* vouched for him, and adopted him for his Son.

Hence, in all Probability, was derived that Law by which the *Candidates* were required to enter, together with their own Names, those of their Fathers and their Countries; though with regard to the latter, they were sometimes permitted to *adopt* a Country, and style themselves of Kingdoms or Cities different from those where they were born; as may be proved by many Instances, particularly in *Pausanias* and *Pindar*¹². Are we to conclude, from what is said above of *Aristotle's* adopting *Philammon* for his Son, that an *adopted* Father also would sometimes serve the Turn instead of a *natural* Father, and pass Muster in like Manner with the *Hellanedicks*?

We find the first and last of the three above-mentioned Articles, inserted in the Proclamation made by the *Herald*, when the *Candidates* passed in *Review* along the *Stadium*, which was performed in the following Manner:

A *Herald*¹³, after having proclaimed Silence, laid his Hand upon the Head of the *Candidate*, and leading him in that Manner along the *Stadium*, demanded with a loud Voice of all the Assembly, "Is there any one, who can accuse this Man of any Crime? Is he a *Robber* or a *Slave*? or wicked and depraved in his Life and Manners?" And, probably, it was in Answer to such a Challenge as this, and upon a like Occasion, that *Themistocles* stood up, and

¹¹ See Faber's Agon. L. iii. c. 17. Themist. Orat. pag. 249. Edit. Hardouin.

¹³ St. Chrylost. apud Fab. Agon. L. iii. c. 12.

¹² L. vi. passim. & Pind. Olymp. Ode 9.

objected

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxvii

objected to *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, as a *Tyrant*. For *Plutarch*¹⁴, after *Theophrastus*, relates, that *Hiero* having sent his Horses to *Olympia*, in order to contend for the *Equestrian Crown*, and having prepared for their Reception a magnificent Pavilion, *Themistocles* stood up, and in a Speech told the *Grecians*, that they ought to pull down the *Tyrant's* Pavilion, and not suffer his Horses to contend. As there is no particular Crime laid to the Charge of *Hiero*, and no Objection raised against him as a Foreigner, or *Barbarian*, the whole of the Accusation brought against this Monarch by *Themistocles*, seems to consist in the Word τυραννς (*Tyrant*), which, among the *Grecians*, signified a Man, that either usurped, or possessed by Means of the Usurpation of his Predecessors, a monarchical, or sovereign Authority, in prejudice to the Liberties of the People, though he afterwards exercised that Authority with Justice and Virtue. This was the Case of *Pisistratus*, of *Gelo*, and his Brother *Hiero*, according to *Plutarch*¹⁵; the last of whom, as we see, could not, however, escape the Censure of *Themistocles*. The Genius of the *Greeks* was turned entirely to *Democracies*; wherefore it is no Wonder, that in a *Grecian* Assembly the Name of *Tyrant* should be heard with Indignation; or that *Themistocles* should think a Man, who had enslaved his Country, criminal enough to be excluded those *Games*, in which *Liberty* was so much countenanced, that no *Slave* was admitted to contend in them. It looks, indeed, as if by *Slaves* in this Case no other could be meant than *menial Slaves*, such as were bought and sold, the Property of their Masters and the Scorn of Human Kind: to degrade a *Tyrant* to a level with such as these, and to deny him the Privileges of a *Freeman*, was a piece of Retaliation worthy the Justice of an *Hellandick*; and the Spirit of *Themistocles* the Deliverer of *Greece*. It appears however, that, notwithstanding this popular Objection to his Character, *Hiero* was admitted

¹⁴ In *Themist.*

¹⁵ *De his qui,*

CXVIII A DISSERTATION ON

to contend in the *Olympick Games*; in which he obtained two Victories, one in the *Horse-Races* in the 73d *Olympiad*, upon which Ocasion *Pindar* wrote his first *Olympick Ode*¹⁶, and the other in the *Chariot-Races*, in the 78th; soon after which he died. In the 75th *Olympiad* happened the Expedition of *Xerxes*; from which terrible Attack upon her Liberties *Greece* was rescued chiefly by the Wisdom and Valour of *Themistocles*¹⁷. In the 76th *Olympiad*, the next after the Battles of *Artemisium* and *Salamis*, *Themistocles* going to the *Olympick Games*, drew for a whole Day together, says *Plutarch*, the Attention of the Spectators from the Combatants upon himself; was gazed at by all the *Greeks* with Veneration, and by them pointed out to Strangers with loud Expressions of their Wonder and Applause: insomuch that *Themistocles* himself acknowledged, he that Day reaped the Fruits of all the Labours he had undergone for *Greece*. It was then, perhaps, that this Assertor of the Liberties of *Greece*¹⁸, whose Heart was not a little subject to Vanity, the last Infirmary of noble Minds (to use an Expression of *Milton*) proud of his Victories over one *Tyrant*, thought fit to declare himself an Enemy to all, by this Opposition to *Hiero*; under which if *Hiero* did not sink, it was owing, in all likelihood, to the Services that he and his Family¹⁹ had lately done to *Greece*, in defeating the *Carthaginians*, who were leagued with *Xerxes* in the same Cause: an Action that *Pindar* seems to think not inferior to the Victories of *Salamis* and *Platæa*: if so, might there not have been a little Tincture of Envy and Jealousy, as well as Vanity, in this Zeal of *Themistocles* against *Tyrants*?

The *Candidates* having passed with Honour through this publick Inquiry into their Lives and Characters, were led to the Altar of

¹⁶ See Schol. ad prim. *Olymp. Od.*
¹⁷ *Plut.* in *Themistocle*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*
Ode of *Pindar*.

¹⁹ See the first *Pythian*

Jupiter,

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. CXIX

Jupiter, surnamed *Horcius* ²⁰, from his presiding over *Oaths*. The Statue of *Jupiter Horcius* was placed in the Senate House of the *Eleans*, and was formed to strike Terror into wicked Men, says *Pausanias*, more than any other Statues of that Deity; for in this he was represented as armed with Thunder in both Hands, and, as if that was not a sufficient Intimation of the Wrath of *Jupiter* against those who should forswear themselves, at his Feet there was a Plate of Brass, containing terrible Denunciations against the Perjured. Before this Statue were all the *Candidates*, together with their Parents, their Brethren, and the *Masters* of the *Gymnasium*, sworn upon the Limbs of a Boar, that was slain and cut up for that Purpose, that they would not be guilty of any Fraud or indirect Action, tending to a Breach of the Laws relating to the *Olympick Games*. The *Candidates* moreover swore, that they had for *ten Months* together duly performed all that was required of them, by way of preparing themselves to appear worthy of being admitted to contend for the *Olympick Crown*.

I cannot help taking Notice, with regard to this *Oath*, that it appears to have been very religiously observed: since, as the *Eleans* informed *Pausanias* ²¹, the first Instance of any indirect Practices made use of by any of the *Candidates* for obtaining the *Olympick Crown*, was in the 98th *Olympiad*, almost four hundred Years after the Institution of those *Games* by *Iphitus*; from which Time to the 226th *Olympiad*, above five hundred Years more, only five Instances of the like Iniquity are produced by the same Author. The Leader of

²⁰ Pauf. L. v. c. 24. *Horcius* is derived from *Horcos*, an *Oath*. The *Romans* seem to have translated the *Greek* Word *Horcius* by *Fidius*, to which joining the old Word *Dius*, signifying *Jupiter*, and the Particle *Me*, borrowed from the *Greek Ma*, and used by them in other Words, as *Mebercle*, *Meceffor*, they formed the Word *Medius fidius*; about

which, it seems, there have been great Disputes among the Learned. Though I cannot help thinking, they may all be ended by allowing *Medius fidius* to be no other than a Translation of *Διαόρκιον*, as I have here suggested: but this Conjecture I submit to better Judgments.

²¹ Lib. v. c. 21.

CXX A DISSERTATION ON

this opprobrious Band is one *Euphlus* a *Theſſalian*, who bribed at one Time no leſs than three of his *Antagoniſts*, to yield him the Victory in the *Cæſtus*. The Fraud and Colluſion was diſcovered, and the Corrupter and Corrupted puniſhed equally by Fines ; with the Money ariſing out of which were erected fix Statues of *Jupiter* ; upon one of theſe was an Inſcription in Verſe, declaring that the *Olympick Crown* was to be obtained by *Activity* and *Strength*, and not by *Bribery* and *Corruption*. Upon another it was ſet forth, that this Statue was erected by the Piety of the *Eleans*, to the Honour of that Deity, and to deter all Men for the future from tranſgreſſing the Laws of the *Olympick Games*. All the other Offenders, whoſe Crime was of the ſame Nature, were puniſhed in the ſame Manner ; and their Infamy was in the ſame Manner perpetuated by Statues and Inſcriptions. The Apprehenſions of a like Diſhonour, and the Dread, perhaps, of a Divinity, who was repreſented as arming himſelf with double Terrors for the Punishment of the Perjured, was undoubtedly the Reaſon that this *Oath* was ſo long and ſo generally kept by all who took it.

From the Altar of *Jupiter Horcius* the *Candidates* were conducted to the *Stadium* by their Parents, their Countrymen, and the *Maſters* of the *Gymnaſium* ²² ; ſome of whom failed not to encourage them to the Combat in an exhortatory Speech ; for the compoſing of which *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* has laid down ſeveral Precepts, as has been already mentioned.

In the *Stadium* they were left entirely to themſelves, to ſtand or fall by their own Merit ; excepting that the Hopes, and Fears, and Tranſports of their Relations and Friends, who could not help ſympathizing with them in the ſeveral Turns and Accidents of the Combat, were allowed to break out now and then into Expreſſions either of Exhortation or Applauſe. And whoever loſt the Crown,

²² Faber's Agon.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxxi

had at least the Consolation of having been thought worthy to contend for it. And indeed, considering the long and painful Discipline they were obliged to undergo, and the Qualifications required of them previously to their being received as *Candidates* for the *Olympick Olive*, we may very justly apply to them what *Acbelous* in *Ovid* says, to palliate the Disgrace of his having been vanquished by *Hercules* :

Turpe fuit vinci quam contendisse decorum.

The Honour of having contended for the Victory abundantly outweighed the Disgrace of losing it.

In speaking of those, who were admitted to contend in the *Olympick Games*, I must not forget to mention, that *Boys* were allowed to be of that Number. This, it seems, was an Innovation²³, there being no Precedent for any such Custom in the *old Games* before *Iphitus*; and was introduced by the mere Authority of the *Eleans* in the 37th *Olympiad*. *Running* and *Wrestling* were at first the only two Exercises in which *Boys* were suffered to dispute the *Prize* with each other; but in the Forty-first *Olympiad* they were admitted to the Combat of the *Cæstus*, and in the hundred and forty-fifth to that of the *Pancratiûm*; as they had been likewise to those of the *Pentathlon* in the 38th *Olympiad*, in which *Exercise Eutelidas* the *Spartan* obtained the *Crown*. But the *Eleans* came to a Resolution that very *Olympiad*, not to allow *Boys* for the future to contend in the *Pentathlon*; which probably was looked upon as too robust and too laborious for so tender an Age. *Paus. L. v. c. 9.* In the *Gymnastick Exercises* the *Boys*, as was most reasonable, contended with each other in *Classes*, distinct and separate from the *Men*.

That they contended also in the *Horse-Races*, is evident from what *Pausanias*²⁴ says of *Hæsyphus* the Son of *Timon*, of whom there was an

²³ *Paul. L. v. c. 8.*

²⁴ *Lib. vi. c. 2.*

cxixii A DISSERTATION ON

Equeſtrian Statue at *Olympia*, in Memory of his having, while yet a Boy, obtained a Victory in the Race of Riding *Horſes*.

I have already obſerved, that the Competitors for the *Equeſtrian* *Crowns* were allowed to contend by *Proxy*; to which I muſt add, that it was cuſtomary likewise for a Man to hire or borrow a *Chariot* and *Horſes* for that Occaſion; or, which amounted to the ſame Thing, to prevail with a Friend, who perhaps had more *Chariots* or more *Horſes* than one to run at the ſame Time, to enter his Name as Maſter of one of them; or to reſign, perhaps, the Honour of a Victory in his Favour, as was twice done by *Cimon* the Father of *Miltiades*, according to *Herodotus*²⁵. Under the Favour therefore of ſome or other of theſe Indulgencies, which were peculiar to the *Equeſtrian* Exerciſes, a Way was opened for Boys alſo to obtain the *Equeſtrian* *Crowns*; even ſuppoſing they were not of Age or Strength ſufficient to contend for them in Perſon; or wealthy or independent enough to have a *Chariot* or *Horſes* of their own.

I have mentioned Age, which undoubtedly was a Qualification neceſſary to be conſidered in theſe young Candidates for Glory; eſpecially upon their Admiſſion to contend in any of the *Gymnaſtick* *Combats*. But I muſt acknowledge at the ſame Time, that I have not as yet been able to diſcover, what Age was requiſite for their Reception into the *Class of Boys*; nor at what Age they were eſteemed *Men*, and conſequently excluded from contending in that *Class*. We read indeed in *Pauſanias*²⁶, of one *Damiscus*, who obtained a *Victory* in the *Foot-Race* at Twelve Years of Age; and the *French*²⁷ Tranſlator of that Author ſays, that Boys were admitted from the Age of Twelve or Thirteen Years to that of Seventeen Years, to contend in the *Gymnaſtick* Combat: that under Twelve Years of Age they were reckoned too young, and above Seventeen too old; and conſequently after that Time they were ranked in the *Class of*

²⁵ Erato, c. 103.

²⁶ Eliac. L. ii. c. 2.

²⁷ See his Note. Pauſ. Eliac. L. ii. c. 1.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxiii

Men. With the latter Part of this Opinion *Faber* seems also to agree, Seventeen Years being, as he says, the Age at which they were reckoned able to bear Arms.

This Opinion is indeed highly probable, but as it is not supported by any Authority out of ancient Authors, I shall leave it upon the Credit of those from whom I borrowed it; and observe, that Children of the same Age differ so greatly from each other, both in Strength and Size, that the *Hellandicks* seem, for that very Reason, to have been left entirely at Liberty to admit or to reject such as should, upon Examination, appear to be either an under-match or an over-match for the rest of their *Antagonists*. That this was the Case may be inferred, as well from a Passage of *Plutarch* in the Life of *Ageilaus*, which I shall produce presently, as from the Oath taken before the Statue of *Jupiter Horcius*, by such of the *Hellandicks* as were appointed to examine the Boys who offered themselves as *Candidates* for the *Olympick Olive*²³. The Tenour of which Oath was, “That they had, without either Present or Reward, proceeded in that Examination, and determined according to the strictest Equity; and that they promised farther, never to divulge the Motives that had induced them to admit some and reject others.” From this Oath, and particularly from the second Clause of it, as well as from the Practice of swearing the *Hellandicks* upon this Occasion, it is evident they were to judge discretionally, and according to their Consciences, not of the Age only of those young *Candidates*, which was a Matter of Fact easily and certainly to be known by inquiring either of themselves or of their Friends and Relations, and Countrymen, some of whom always accompanied them to *Olympia*, but of those other Matters already mentioned, for which no certain Rule or Measure could be prescribed; and which for that Reason must be submitted to the Cogni-

²³ Paul. L. v. c. 24.

CXXIV A DISSERTATION ON

zance and Determination of Discretion and Opinion only. These several Particulars are farther proved from the Passage of *Plutarch* above-mentioned, wherein he relates, that the Son of *Pharnabazus*, a *Persian Satrap*, having contracted a Friendship with *Agefilas* King of *Sparta*, applied to him one Day in Behalf of an *Albanian* Boy²⁹, of whom he was very fond, and who having qualified himself for the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*, intended to offer himself as a *Candidate* for the *Olympick Crown* in the *Class of Boys*; but as he was very robust and tall, there was great Danger of his being rejected upon that account. But *Agefilas*, willing to gratify the young *Persian* in this Particular, made use of all his Interest with the *Hellandicks*, and after a great deal of Difficulty obtained his Desire.

I cannot finish this Account of the *Candidates* without taking proper Notice of the *Ladies*, who were not ashamed to be reckoned in that Number. It was a great while, indeed, before they thought of rivaling the Men in their Pretensions to a *Crown*, from which, by a kind of *Sabick* Law, their Sex seemed to be entirely excluded; for they were not so much as allowed to be Spectators of these Contests for Glory: and no less a Punishment³⁰ than that of being cast headlong down the Precipices of Mount *Typhæus*, was threatened to be inflicted upon every Woman that was discovered assisting at the *Olympick Games*, or even known to have passed over the River *Alpheus* during that Solemnity. *Pausanias*, who helps us to this Particular, informs us at the same Time, that no Woman was ever taken offending against this Law, excepting one named *Callipateira*³¹, or *Pherenice*, whose

²⁹ ————— *ἡγεμόνι Ἀθηνῶν παρὶς ἐξ ἀθηνῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ μέγας ὢν καὶ σκλαβὸς ὁ Νουμμάσιον ἐκινδύνισεν ἐν ἀγῶνι.* See also the 4th Book of *Xenophon's Greek History*, where this Story is related. And from thence I suppose *Plutarch* took it.

³⁰ *Paul. L. v. c. 6.*

³¹ This Matron was so famous as to have

had several Names; see *Kubniur's* Note upon this Passage of *Paul.* and the *Scholi-um* upon the Title of the 7th *Olymp. Ode* of *Pindar*, where she is called *Arilopateira*, and the Story of her differently told. She was the Daughter of *Diagoras*, the famous *Athlete*, to whom that Ode is inscribed.

Husband being dead, she disguised herself in the Habit of a *Maſter* of the *Gymnaſium*, in order to attend upon her Son *Piſidorus*, whom under that Character ſhe conducted into the *Olympick Stadium*. But *Piſidorus* coming off with Conqueſt, the Mother, who could not contain her Tranſport at the Victory of her Son, was by ſome Accident diſcovered, and thereby rendered liable to the dreadful Penalty above-mentioned. The *Hellandicks*, however, out of Reſpect to her Father, her Brothers, and her Son, all of whom had been honoured with the *Olympick Crown*, exempted her from Punishment; but ordered, that all the Maſters of the *Gymnaſium*, who aſſiſted at thoſe *Games*, ſhould, for the future, appear naked; as were all the *Gymnaſtick Candidates*: which was doubtleſsly the true Reaſon of this Law's being at firſt made, as well as one of the principal Cauſes of its having been ever religiously obſerved. And yet we find in the ſame *Pauſanias*³², that the *Prieſteſs* of *Ceres*, and even *Virgins* (thoſe undoubtedly belonging to that Goddeſs, and thoſe only) were allowed to be Spectators of theſe *Games*; and were ſeated for that Purpoſe upon an *Altar of White Marble*, that was erected on one Side of the *Stadium* oppoſite to the Seat of the *Hellandicks*. I muſt own, with *Mont. Rollin*³³, that I cannot account for ſo extraordinary a Proceeding; but I can by no means, like him, call the Truth of this Fact in Queſtion; which is related in very expreſs Terms by *Pauſanias*, and with Circumſtances that corroborate his Evidence: and is farther confirmed by the Teſtimony of *Suetonius*, in the Life of *Nero*³⁴; who ſays, that Emperor invited the *Veſtal Virgins* to ſee the Combats of the *Athletes*, becauſe at *Olympia* the like Privilege was allowed to the *Prieſteſſes* of *Ceres*. All we can ſay of this Matter is, that it appears³⁵ to have been an Honour granted, among many others, to the *Prieſteſſes* of this Goddeſs in particular; whoſe Temple³⁶ was adjoining to

³² Eliac. ii. c. 20. Fab. Agon. L. i. c. 9.

³³ Hiſt. Anc. Vol. v. p. 51.

³⁴ In Nero. c. xii.

³⁵ Pauſ. ubi ſup.

³⁶ Pauſ. L. v. c. 21.

the *Stadium* ³⁷, and from some Circumstances of whose Worship ³⁸, which was very full of Symbols, and Mysteries, and Secrets, that no one was permitted to divulge, this Custom was in all Probability derived : so much at least seems to be intimated by the *Altar of White Marble* upon which these Priestesses and Virgins were seated, of whose Sanctity and Purity it seems at the same Time to have been no improper Emblem.

To recompense the Women for their being excluded from the *Olympick Games* ³⁹, they also celebrated a *Festival* of their own, instituted, as it is said, in Honour of *Olympian Juno*, by *Hippodamia* the Wife of *Pelops*. In this Festival the *Virgins*, distributed into three *Classes*, according to their different Ages contended in the *Foot-Race* ; from which agreeable Spectacle, I am willing to hope, for the Sake of both Sexes, that the Men were not excluded ; neither could the same Reason be pretended in the present Case, as in the former. These *Female Racers* were dressed, and, if one may be allowed to give one's Opinion upon a Matter every Way so remote from these modern Times, they were dressed in a very becoming Habit ; for their Hair, according to *Pausanias*, was loose and flowing, their Mantle let down a little below the Knee, and their Right Shoulder naked as low as to the Breast. The *Races* were performed in the *Olympick Stadium*, but, out of Regard to the Debility of the tender *Racers*, the *Course* was shortened about a sixth Part. The *Conquerors* received for her Reward an *Olive Crown*, and a certain Portion of the *Heifer* that was upon this Occasion sacrificed to *Juno*. But the most agreeable Part of their Re-

³⁷ May not another Reason for this extraordinary Privilege granted to the *Priestesses* of *Ceres* be drawn from the Situation of her Temple, which overlooked the *Stadium* ; and from which perhaps it was not lawful for the Priestess to depart ? and may we not suppose that this Privilege,

though granted out of a religious Veneration to the Goddess, was never made use of by the Priestess, or the Virgins belonging to her ?

³⁸ See *Spanheim's* and the other Commentators on *Calim.* Hymn to *Ceres*.

³⁹ *Pauf. L. v. c. 15.*

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxxvii

compence, was the Liberty granted to the victorious Virgin of having her Picture drawn, and hung up in the Temple as a Memorial, at the same Time both of her Beauty and her Glory. And I question not but they were as carefull to have the Painter ready upon these Occasions, as the *Conquerors* of the other Sex were to have their *Statuaries* and *Poets*.

What Pity is it, that instead of a Picture of one of these fair Conqueresses, nothing should now remain to us but the Name of her who obtained the first *Victory*? This was *Chloris*, the youngest Daughter of *Ambion*, a Lady whose Beauty is celebrated by *Homer*⁴⁰.

The Direction⁴¹ of this *Festival*, and the Office of presiding at these *Games*, was lodged in *sixteen Matrons*, elected for that Purpose, *two* out of each of the *eight Tribes* of the *Eleans*. These *sixteen Matrons*, who had also a like Number of Women to assist them in ordering the *Games*, composed two Choirs, one named the *Chorus* of *Physcoa*, and the other of *Hippodamia*; but whether they employed their Voices in singing the Praises of the Goddess, or of the victorious Virgins, or both, is not said; though a less important Part of their Office is mentioned, namely, the Care of weaving a *Veil*, which was spread over the *Image of June* upon her Festival.

But to return from this short Digression: Notwithstanding the Women, by the Institution of these Games consecrated to *June*, seem to have been set upon a pretty equal Footing with the Men, yet the Vanity of the latter, in over-valuing themselves upon their *Victories*, brought the Women into their *Lisfs*. And very fortunate was it for the Men, that these dangerous Rivals were, by the above-mentioned Law, excluded from contending in Person; and necessitated of Course to limit their Ambition to the obtaining the *Equestrian Crowns* only; for which alone it was allowable to contend by *Proxy*. The Law by which Women were forbidden to be present at the *Olympick Games*,

⁴⁰ Odyss. A. ver. 280.

⁴¹ Paul. ibid.

and

and the Liberty granted the *Equestrian Candidates*, which I have just now mentioned, have already been so clearly and so fully stated, that I need not enter into the Question, whether *Cynisca*, and the other Ladies of *Macedonia* who afterwards followed her Example, were present at the *Olympick Games*, any further, than to say that *Faber*⁴² is of Opinion, that *Cynisca* was in Person at *Olympia*, though neither she nor any of the Female *Candidates* drove their own Chariots; which Opinion he grounds upon the Words of *Plutarch*⁴³, which indeed seem to imply as much. But if the Words of *Plutarch* are to be taken strictly according to the Letter, they imply, that *Cynisca* was not only present at the *Olympick Games*, but that she drove her own Chariot; which is contrary to what *Faber* himself allows, and to the Testimony of her own Monument of this Victory⁴⁴: which consisted of the Statues of her *four Horses* in *Brass*, a little less than the Life, her *Chariot* and her *Charioteer*, and her own *Picture* drawn by *Apelles*. Besides, as her being present was not at all necessary, there was no Occasion for the *Hellandicks* to dispense in her Favour with the Observation of a Law, which in all other Cases was to be obeyed under the Penalty of Death. She had Reason to be contented, one would think, with being admitted to contend for a *Crown*; the Value of which she had been most maliciously prevailed upon to bring into Discredit, by shewing from her own Example, that the Women might as well pretend to that Honour as the Men. Such at least was the Intention of her Brother *Agelæus*, who persuaded her for that Reason to make the Experiment. But he seems to have been disappointed in the Event. The *Olympick Crown* kept up its Value; and instead of being depreciated by the Competition of a Woman, gave such a Lustre to *Cynisca*, that the several Arts of *Poetry*, *Painting*, *Architecture*, and *Statuary*,

⁴² Agon. L. i. c. 26.

& Xeno. in Agel.

⁴³ See Plut. in Agel. & Lacon. Apophth.

⁴⁴ Paus. L. vi. c. 1. & L. v. c. 12.

were

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxxix

were all employed by herself or her Countrymen, to deliver down to Posterity the Memory of her Glory.

SECTION XVI.

*Of the Olympick Crown, and other Honours and Rewards
conferred upon the Conquerors.*

THE first Reward bestowed upon the Conquerors, and the Pledge of many consequent Honours, Privileges, and Immunities (all of which I propose to treat of in this Section) was a *Chaplet* or *Crown*, composed of the Branches of a *Wild Olive*.

To enhance the Value of these *Olive Chaplets*, and render them in some Degree worthy of those *Games*, which by way of Eminence were styled *Holy*, the *Eleans* pretended that the *Tree*, from whence they were always taken, was originally brought to *Olympia* by *Hercules*¹, from the Country of the *Hyperboreans*; a People, whose Situation no Geographer, either ancient or modern, has yet been able to determine. *Pindar* gives the Honour of this Exploit to *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmena*, though, as we learn from *Pausanias*, it was by others ascribed to the *Idæan Hercules*, who was earlier by some Generations.

But as there were many Plants of the same kind growing in the *Allis* of *Olympian Jupiter*, several of which might equally pretend to the same venerable Original, to obviate all Doubts and Scruples relating to the *Sacred Olive*, that might arise either from the above Consideration, or from the long Interval, which had passed between the Time in which these *Heroes* flourished, and that in which *Iphitus* re-instituted the *Olympick Games*; the *Eleans* further pretended, that it was

¹ Pindar's Olymp. Ode 3. see the Note there.

indicated to them by the *Delphick Oracle*. This Account, though not taken Notice of by *Pausanias*, or any other Author, as I remember, is preserved to us in a Fragment of *Phlegon*, and is as follows :
“ During the first *five Olympiads* [*after the Restitution of those Games by Iphitus*] no one, says he, was *crown'd* ; but in the *sixth* the People of *Elis* came to a Resolution, to consult the Oracle about giving
“ *Crowns* to the *Conquerors*. For this Purpose they sent *Iphitus* their
“ King to *Delphi*, to whom the God gave this Answer :

To the swift Victor be no more assign'd
The bleating Offspring of the fleecy kind.
But from the *Olive*, which spontaneous grows
In *Pisa's* Vale, a verdant *Crown* compose ;
That *Olive*, round whose venerable Head
Her subtle Textures hath *Arachne* spread.

“ *Iphitus*, upon his Return to *Olympia*, having discovered, among
“ the many *wild Olives* that grew in the *Sacred Grove*, one which
“ was covered with *Cobwebs*, enclosed it with a Wall ; and from this
“ Tree was a *Chaplet* or *Crown* taken and given to the *Conquerors*. The
“ first who was *crown'd* was *Daicles* of *Messene*, who in the seventh
“ *Olympiad* gained the Victory in the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*.”

From this Account we also learn, that the *Prize* originally bestowed upon the *Olympick Conquerors* was a *Lamb*. And some learned Moderns have imagined, that in some Periods of these Games, the *Crowns* given to the *Victors* were of *Gold*. But, as I think, they have mistaken the Passages upon which they found their Opinion, I shall pass it over with this Observation only ; that considering the Number of *Exercises*, of which in Process of Time the *Olympick Games* consisted, in each of which the *Victor* was entitled to a *Prize*, the Honour of presiding at the *Olympick Games* must have been very expensive to the *Eleans* in that Article alone, had these *Prizes* been of any considerable

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxxx

derable Value. And it is probable that the *Eleans*, foreseeing this, might, out of good Oeconomy, be desirous of changing the *original Prize*, a *Lamb*, though of no great Value, for the cheaper one of a *Crown*, composed of the Branches of a *Wild Olive* : to sanctify which Alteration, and give a Lustre to their *Olive Chaplet*, they had Recourse to Fables, and the Authority of the *Delphick Oracle*.

With the same View they not only surrounded this *sacred Olive* with a Wall, and distinguished it by the Name of *Callistephanos*, i. e. the Tree of the *Crowns of Glory*, but put it also under the Protection of certain *Nymphs*², or inferior Deities ; whom from their Office they likewise surnamed *Callistephani* ; and to whom they erected an Altar near that *consecrated Plant*.

To excite the Emulation of the Competitors, by placing in their View the Object of their Ambition, these *Crowns* were laid upon a *Tripod*, or *Table*, which during the *Games* was brought out and placed in the Middle of the *Stadium*, or of the *Hippodrome*³, according as the respective Exercises required. In the Interval of the *Games*⁴ they were kept, the former in the Temple of *Jupiter*, the latter in the Temple of *Juno at Olympia*. The *Tripod* was of Brass, and seems to have been entirely laid aside after the *Table* was made, which was composed of Gold and Ivory, the Workmanship of *Colotes of Paros*, a Disciple of *Pasiteles*.

Upon the same *Table* were also exposed to View, *Branches of Palm*, which the *Conquerors* received at the same Time with the *Crowns*, and carried in their Hands, as Emblems⁵ (says *Plutarch*) of the unsuppressive Vigour of their Minds and Bodies, evidenced in their get-

² Paul. L. v.

³ It is probable, that in the *Basse Relievo* representing the old *Hippodrome* at *Constantinople* (a Print of which is inserted in *Wheeler's Travels*, p. 183.) the *Four Pillars* supporting a kind of Frame, were

only the *Legs* of a *Table*, serving the Use above-mentioned. Which Mr *Wheeler* not considering, says, he could not conjecture what it was for, unless only for Ornament.

⁴ Paul. L. v. ⁵ Symp. L. viii. Quest 4.

ting the better of their *Antagonists* ; and surmounting all Opposition, like those Plants, whose Property it was, according to the Opinion of the Ancients, to rise and flourish under the greatest Weights, and against all Endeavours to bend or keep them down.

Though the *Conquerors* were immediately, upon their gaining the *Victory*, entituled to the *Chaplet* and the *Palm*, yet *Faber*⁶ conjectures, from a Passage of *Chrysostome*, that they who contended in the *Morning Exercises*, did not receive their *Crowns* till Noon ; at which Time it may also be inferred from the same Passage, that the Spectators, as well as the *Candidates*, were dismissed in order to take some Refreshment before the *Afternoon Exercises* came on ; the *Conquerors* in which were in like Manner obliged to wait for their Reward till the Evening. And indeed, as every Part of these *Games* was conducted with the utmost Order and Decency, it is not natural to suppose that the Course of the Exercises was interrupted, by giving the *Crown* to every single *Conqueror* as soon as he had obtained his *Victory*, especially, as that Solemnity was attended with a great deal of Ceremony.

It was performed (as far as I have been able to collect from several Passages scattered up and down in ancient Authors) in the following Manner :

The *Conquerors* being summoned by Proclamation, marched in Order to the Tribunal of the *Hellandicks*⁷, where a *Herald*, taking the *Crowns* of *Olive* from the Table⁸, placed one upon the Head of each of the *Conquerors* ; and giving into their Hands *Branches* of *Palm*, led them in that Equipage along the *Stadium*, preceded by *Trumpets*, proclaiming at the same Time with a loud Voice, their Names, the Names of their Fathers, and their Countries ; and specifying the particular *Exercise* in which each of them had gained the Victory. The Form made use of in that Proclamation, seems to have been conceived in these or such like Terms ; viz. “ *Diagoras* the

⁶ Agon. L. i. c. 30. ⁷ *Helian*. L. ix. c. 51. ⁸ *Cic*, *Epist.* ad *Luc*. *Plut.* de se ipso laud.

“ Son

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxxxiii

“Son of *Damagetus* of *Rhodes*, *Conqueror* in the *Cæſus* in the *Clasſ* of “Men;” and ſo of the reſt, whether Men or Boys, *mutatis mutandis*. That in which the *Victories* of *Nero* were publiſhed, is recorded by *Dio Caſſius*⁹, for the Singularity, I ſuppoſe, of the Style, as well as the Eminency of the *Conqueror*, and the Quality of the *Herald*, whoſe Name, as the ſame Author informs us, was *Cluvius Ruſus*, a Man of *Conſular Dignity*. Take it, together with the ſhort, but ſarcaſtical Reflection of the Hiſtorian upon it, in the very Words, as near as I could tranſlate them into *Engliſh*¹⁰: *Nero Cæſar is victorious in this Game, and imparts the Honour of this Chapter to the Roman People, and to all the Inhabitants of the World, his Subjects*. He ſtyled himſelf, ſays *Dio Caſſius*, Lord of the World, and yet turned *Harper*, *Crier*, and *Tragedian*. To illuſtrate this wonderfull Piece of Hiſtory, I ſhall obſerve, that this vain but mean Lord of the Univerſe, beſides his Victory in the *Chariot-Race* at *Olympia* (which I have already mention- ed) obtained many others in the ſeveral *Games of Greece*¹¹ (in all which he contended) as a *Muſician*, a *Crier*, and a *Tragedian*; to which he ſometimes added the farther Indecency of proclaiming, in the Quality of a *Crier*, his own Victories¹²: and to fit himſelf for this honourable Employment, he every where contended publickly with the *Criers* or *Heralds*; who, without doubt, were very carefull not to out-baul the Maſter of twenty Legions.

Although the *Olympick Crowns* were all compoſed of the Branches of the *Sacred Olive*, yet, I imagine, they were diſtinguiſhed from each other, either by the Difference of their Form, or the Addition of ſome emblematick Ornament peculiar to the ſeveral Exerciſes. The *Racer's Crown* was different from the *Wreſtler's*, and ſo all the reſt. This I acknowledge to be a mere Conjecture of my own; founded

⁹ In Nerone.

¹⁰ Νέρων Καίſαρ καὶ τὸν δὲ Νέρωνα καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Νέρωνος οὐκ ἴσους αἰ-
σῖον τοῦτον Νέρωνος οὐκ ἴσους αἰ-

καὶ τὸν.

¹¹ Dion. in Nerone.

¹² Suet. in Nero.

indeed upon no positive Authority of any Writer, either ancient or modern ; but countenanced, as I think, by a Passage of *Plutarch* ¹³, where speaking of the different Talents and Fortunes of Mankind, he advises us to be contented with our own, and not envy those of other Men ; like the *Racers*, continues he, who are not dissatisfied at not obtaining the *Wrestlers Crowns*, but triumph and are happy in their own. These Words, I confess, will bear a more general Sense, and may mean no more than that the *Racers* do not envy the *Wrestlers* their Victory. And yet I am persuaded, that, had there been no Mark, by which these *Crowns* were distinguished from each other, he would have expressed himself otherwise. For to say in general, that the *Racers* did not envy the *Wrestlers* the *Olympick Crown*, would not be strictly true, any more than to say here in *England*, that an *Admiral* does not envy a *General* the *Garter* or a *Peerage* ; because those Honours are indifferently bestowed upon both, and may therefore be the Object of the Ambition of either. But among the *Romans* it might with great Propriety and Truth be said, that a Man, who had distinguished himself in a Sea Engagement, and obtained a *Crown* as a Reward for his Valour, did not envy his Fellow Citizen the *Crown* which he had gained at a Siege ; because those *Crowns* were known to be different, and appropriated to distinct Services. However, I shall submit this, with many other Things of the like uncertain Nature, to the more judicious Reader. As to the *emblematick Ornaments*, which I mentioned above, I can produce but little better Authority in Support of this Part of my Conjecture, than of the former. *Plutarch*, in his Discourse upon the *Face in the Moon*, speaking of the Souls, which, after the first Death here upon Earth, and the Purgatory which they undergo for some Time in the Regions between the Earth and that Planet, are translated to the Moon, says, that as a Mark of their Constancy, they, like the *Conquerors*, wear Chaplets of (ῥοσηρόν) *Plumes*, or *Wings* :

¹³ De Tranq. Animi.

and

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. CXXXV

and *Pindar*, in his 14th *Olymp.* Ode, to denote the Victory of *Alcippichus* in the *Foot-Race*, says, he *crowned his Head with the Wings* (*ἄλκιπποισι*) or *Plumes of the famous Games*. The same Word, and used in the same Sense, occurs again in the 9th *Pythian* Ode. The *Scholiast*, and all the Interpreters agree, that by these Words *Pindar* means the *Olympick* and *Pythick* Crowns; which, say they, he calls *Wings*, because they *elevate* and *exalt*. But I can by no means approve of this Solution, and think the Expression too bold to be justified, even in that Kind of Poetry called *Ditthyrambick*, which, by all we know of it, seems to have been the Production of such great Wits, as, according to *Dryden*, are near allied to Madness. Would an *English* Poet be allowed to say, that a Man received the *Order* of the *Wing*, to signify that he was made *Knight* of the *Garter*? And yet it might be justified in him as well as in *Pindar*, by the same Kind of Reasoning. For my Part, I cannot help concluding from these two Passages, compared with that of *Plutarch*, that either the *Conquerors* in general (for the Words in *Plutarch* are general) besides the Chaplet peculiar to the *Games*, received another composed of *Wings* or *Plumes*; or that the *Racers Chaplet* in particular was adorned with *Plumes* or *Wings*, the proper and known Emblems of Swiftnels. In Support of which Conjecture, I desire it may be observed, that the *Odes*, in which *Pindar* uses this Expression, are both of them inscribed to *Conquerors* in the *Foot-Race*. *Plutarch*, in the Passage above-cited, speaks of *Wings* as the Symbols of Constancy. I shall not inquire into the Reason or Propriety of this Symbol, but observe, that a *Chaplet* of *Wings*, considered as the Symbols of Constancy, belonged equally (and were probably given) to all the *Conquerors*, as the Words of *Plutarch* seem to imply.

That different Degrees of Merit were rewarded with different Degrees of Honour, and consequently with different *Crowns*, I infer from these Words of *St Basil*¹⁴: “No *President* of the *Games*, says

¹⁴ Apud Fab. Agon. L. iii. Cap. 1.

he,

CXXXVI A DISSERTATION ON

“ he, is so devoid of Judgment, as to think a Man, who for want of
 “ an Adversary hath not contended, deserves the same Crown (*ἰσὺν*
εὐφάνειαν) as one, who hath contended and overcome.” That he, who
 for want of an *Antagonist* was proclaimed *Conqueror*, did receive a
Crown, is evident from the Epigram upon *Milo* (which I have pro-
 duced at the End of a former Section) and many Passages in *Pausa-
 nias* ; and that the *Crown*, which in that Case he was entitled to,
 was different from that which he would have received, had he con-
 tended and vanquished, may, I think, be fairly concluded from the
 Words of St. Basil above-cited. *Alcibiades* ¹⁴, who sent *seven Cha-
 riots* at one Time to the *Olympick Games*, gained the *first, second, and
 fourth Prizes*, which were so many *Crowns of Olive* ¹⁵ : and these
Crowns, in all Probability, differed from each other, as they were
 the Rewards of different Degrees of Merit. To this let me add, that
 the *Charioters*, and even the *Horses*, were rewarded with *Crowns*,
 which can hardly be supposed to have been the same with those be-
 stowed upon their Masters ; though no Notice is taken by any
 ancient Author, of any Difference or Distinction in these several
Crowns.

Though the *Olive Chaplet* seems to have been the only Reward
 which the *Hellanodicks* conferred upon the *Conquerors*, yet were there
 many other, no less glorious and no less pleasing Recompences at-
 tending their *Victories*, as well from the Spectators in general, as from
 their own Countrymen, Friends, and Relations in particular ; some
 of which they received even before they were put in Possession of the
Crown. Such were the Acclamations and Applauses of that nume-
 rous Assembly ; the warm Congratulations of their Friends, and even

¹⁴ Plut. in Al. Thuc. llo. in Bigi.

and *Isocrates*, and *Euripides* himself, in

¹⁵ This will appear to any one, who the same Place, say of the three *Victories*,
 shall compare the Fragment of the Ode of *Alcibiades* ; by which also it is plain,
 which *Euripides* composed upon this Occa- that instead of *δὲς τρεῶν τῶν νικῶν* it should be
 sion, with what *Plutarch*, and *Thucydides*, ^{7915.}

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxxxvii

the faint and extorted Salutations of their Maligners and Opponents. These broke out immediately upon their Victory, and were as Lenients to their Wounds, and Cordials to their Toils; and enabled them to support with Patience the farther Toil of waiting, perhaps many Hours, for the *Crown*; which was no inconsiderable Matter after a hard-fought Battle or long-contested Victory, especially if they were to stand all that Time in the *Stadium*, naked and exposed, in that hottest Season of the Year, to the Rays of the Sun; and that in a Place, where the Heat was so violent, that Slaves were sometimes, by way of Punishment, condemned to suffer it for a whole Summer's Day together.

As they passed along the *Stadium*, after they had received the *Crown*, they were again saluted with the Acclamations of the Spectators, accompanied with a Shower of Herbs and Flowers, poured on them from every Side; as may be collected from what *Pausanias* relates¹⁶ of *Diagoras* the *Rhodian*, to whom *Pindar*¹⁷ inscribes his seventh *Olympick* Ode; in which he enumerates his several Victories in almost all the *Games of Greece*. This venerable *Conqueror* is said to have accompanied his two Sons, *Acusilaus* and *Damagetus*, to the *Olympick Games*, in which the young Men coming off victorious, *Acusilaus* in the *Cæstus*, and *Damagetus* in the *Pancrætium*, took their Father on their Shoulders, and carried him as it were in Triumph along the *Stadium*, amid the Shouts and Acclamations of the Spectators; who poured Flowers on him as he passed, and hailed him happy in being the Father of such Sons¹⁸.

It was farther customary, for the Friends of the *Conquerors* to express their particular Respect to them, by going up to them, accom-

¹⁶ Lib. vi.

¹⁷ See the *Scholiast* on the 4th *Pyth.* Ode of *Pindar*, ver. 426.

¹⁸ There are some Additions to this Story, which I shall take Notice of in another Place.

СХХViii A DISSERTATION ON

ing them, and presenting them with Chaplets of Herbs, &c. binding their Heads with *Fillets*, Ribbons, ¹⁹ &c.

The last Duty performed by the Conquerors at *Olympia*, was sacrificing ²⁰ to the Twelve Gods, who were worshipped *two* at one Altar, as I have already observed, and sometimes to *Olympick Jupiter* in particular. These Sacrifices some of them performed with so much Magnificence, as to entertain the whole Multitude which were gathered together at that Solemnity; as did *Alicibiades* ²¹, *Leopbron*, and *Empedocles* ²². But this last being a *Pythagorean*, and for that reason abstaining from all animal Food, distributed to the Assembly an Ox, composed of Honey, Flour, Frankincense, Myrrh, and other Spices of great Value.

Others, who had less Ability, or perhaps less Vanity, were contented to feast only their own Friends, or probably were sometimes feasted by them; and perhaps by the *Eleans* themselves, the Superintendants of the *Olympick Games*. For so much seems to be intimated by *Pausanias*, who says, that in the *Prytaneum*, or *Town-Hall of Olympia*, there was a *Banquetting Room* set apart for the entertaining the *Olympick Conquerors*. At these Entertainments, whether publick or private, were frequently sung by a *Chorus*, accompanied with Instrumental Musick, such *Odes* as were composed upon that Occasion in Honour of the *Conqueror*. But it was not the good Fortune of every *Conqueror* to have a Poet for his Friend; or to be able to pay the Price of an Ode, which the Poets rated very high, according to the following Story related by the *Scholiast* of *Pindar* ²³. The Friends of one *Pytheas*, a *Conqueror* in the *Nemean Games*, came to *Pindar*, and desired

¹⁹ See *Thuc.* L. iv. *sub fin.* where are these Words; ἰδὲ αὖ δὲ, ἱερὰν τι, καὶ ποικίλον

liast.

²⁰ Pind. *Olymp.* Ode 5. and the *Scholiast*. ²¹ Athen. *Deip.* L. i. ²² *ibid.* & *Laert.* ²³ *Nem.* Ode 5.

in a former Sect. and the last-mentioned Passage of *Pindar*.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxxxix

him to make an Ode upon the Occasion ; but the Poet demanding a large Sum ²³ of Money for his Performance, they replied, it was better to have a Statue of Braſs erected for that Money, than a Copy of Verſes, and went their ways. But ſome Time after having changed their Opinions, they returned to *Pindar* and paid him his Price : who, in Alluſion to the above-mentioned Tranſaction, begins his *Ode* with ſetting forth, that he was no *Statuary*, no Maker of Images that could not ſtir from their Pedestals, and conſequently were to be ſeen only by thoſe, who would give themſelves the Trouble to go to the Place where they were erected ; but he could make a *Poem*, which ſhould fly over the whole Earth, and publiſh in every Place that *Pytheas* had gained the *Crown* in the *Nemean Games*, &c. *Pindar*, as was natural, gives the Preference to his own Art, Poetry ; ſo did the Friends of *Pytheas* : and *Pindar's* Works are now, after two thouſand Years, remaining ſtill, to prove that they were neither of them miſtaken.

Thoſe *Conquerors*, who could not attain to the Honour of an *Ode* on their particular Victory, were obliged to take up with one made by *Archilochus* in Praise of *Hercules*, which, as we learn from *Pindar* ²⁴ and his *Scholiaſt*, it was cuſtomary to ſing three ſeveral Times to the Conqueror, *viz.* (as in the *Stadium*, I ſuppoſe) at the Time of his being proclaimed *Conqueror* ; in the *Gymnaſium* ; and in his own Country, at the Solemnity of his *Triumphal Entry* there. Of this Ode nothing has come down to us but the two firſt Verſes, preſerved by the *Scholiaſt* of *Pindar* : the three firſt Words of which, *viz.* *Ω Καλόνεικε, χαίρει, Ο glorious Victor, hail !* ſeem, by the Account which the *Scholiaſt* gives of this Ode, to have been the only ones applicable to the *Olympick Conquerors* (the reſt belonging to *Hercules*) and were ſometimes, perhaps, the only ones made uſe of ; eſpecially when the *Chorus* conſiſted of none but the Friends of the *Conqueror* :

²³ See hereafter the Note on the 2d *Iſthmian Ode* of *Pindar*. ²⁴ *Olymp. Ode* 9.

cxl A DISSERTATION ON

which, as many of these *Conquerors* were not rich enough to hire a Band of Singers and Musicians, must have often been the Case. To supply the Want of a Musician, *Archilochus* framed a Word in Imitation of the Sound of a Harp, which Word (*Tenella*, Τηέλλα) when there happened to be no Musician present, the *Leader* of the *Chorus* chanted forth, and was answered by the rest of the *Chorus* in the Words of the Ode, Ω Καλάνη, *O glorious Victor*, &c. at every Comma, or Pause of which, this Burden was again repeated, as *Pindar's Scholiast* informs us, from whom I have taken this whole Account.

To perpetuate the Glory of these *Victories*, the *Hellanodicks* entered into a *publick Register* the Names of the *Conquerors*; specifying, without Doubt, the particular Exercise and Class, whether of *Men* or *Boys*, in which each had been victorious; together with the Number of the *Olympiad*. I have already taken Notice, in another Place, of the glorious Distinction paid to the *Conquerors* in the *Stadium*, by marking the *Olympiad* with their Names, and therefore shall say nothing of it here, but shall proceed to the last, though not the least Honour granted by the *Hellanodicks* to the *Conquerors*; and this was the Privilege of having their *Statues* set up in the *Altis*, or *sacred Grove* of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*.

Though the *Conquerors* themselves, their Friends, and sometimes their Country²⁵, were at the Expence of these Statues, yet were they restrained by the *Olympick* Laws from indulging that too common Vanity of misrepresenting the Size and Stature²⁶ of their Bodies, and obliged to make their *Statues* no bigger than the Life: in examining of which, says *Lucian*, the *Hellanodicks* were more exact than in examining the *Candidates* themselves. And if they found any in this Particular offending against the Truth, they punished them very properly with throwing down their *Statues*.

²⁵ *Paul. L. vi.*

²⁶ *Lucian. Imag.*

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxli

Cornelius Nepos, in his Life of *Chabrias*, says, that in Imitation of that General, who had caused his Statue to be made in a peculiar Attitude, expressing a particular Position of the Body, by the Invention and Use of which he and his Army had obtained a considerable Victory, it became customary with the *Conquerors* in the *Games*, &c. to represent in their *Statues* the *Attitudes*, *Habits*, &c. in which they had gained the *Crown*.

Thus for Instance, the *Statue of Damarethus*²⁷, who was the first that obtained the *Victory* in the *Race of armed Men*, is described by *Pausanias* with a *Shield*, a *Helmet*, and *Buskins*, the proper Equipage of those who contended in that Exercise : and that of *Ladas* (an eminent *Racer*) made by *Myron*, as eminent a Statuary, was formed in the very Action of Running ; and seems, according to the Account given of it in a very beautiful *Greek Epigram*²⁸, to have expressed not the *Attitude* of the Body only, but that of the Mind also, (if I may so speak) the *Hopes*, the *Expectation*, the *Assurance* of the Victory, in so lively a Manner, that it is going this Moment, cries the Poet, to leap from its *Pedestal* and seize the *Crown*.

But the *Conquerors* were not contented to consecrate *themselves* only in this Manner to Fame and *Jupiter* ; they sometimes set up the *Statues* of their *Charioteers*, and even of their *Horses*, as may be seen in *Pausanias*²⁹ ; and sometimes they dedicated the very *Chariots* themselves in which they had gained the Victory : an Instance of which I have quoted in a former Section, from *Pindar's* fifth *Pyth. Ode*.

It is plain, however, from a Passage in *Philostratus*, cited by *Fab. Agon.* L. iii. c. 12. that this *Privilege* of a *Statue* was not granted to those *Conquerors* who were of mean Occupations, or had exercised any Handicraft Trade. In the sixth Book of *Pausanias* may be seen a large List of Statues erected in the *Altis* of *Olympian Jupiter*, in Honour of those *Conquerors*, who had distinguished themselves,

²⁷ *Paul.* L. vi.

²⁸ *Anthol.* L. iv.

²⁹ *Lib.* vi.

either

cxlii A DISSERTATION ON

either by the Number or the Singularity of the *Victories*. A List, though too large to be inserted, yet proper to be mentioned in this *Dissertation*; as tending not only to confirm what has been said relating to the *Statues of the Olympick Conquerors*, but also to give the Reader an Idea of the Magnificence of *Olympia*; where, besides the numerous Temples, Altars, and Images of Gods, there was to be seen, even in the Times of *Pausanias*, an almost incredible Quantity of Statues of Men, Boys, Horses, &c. many of them made by those great Artists, whom no one since hath ever pretended to excell.

We must now take our Leave of *Olympia*, and pass with the *Conquerors* to their several Countries, where we shall find still more Honours, more advantageous Privileges, and more substantial Rewards conferred upon them.

The publick Honours paid to them upon their returning into their own Countries were very extraordinary; and such as not only equalled the Glory, but resembled also the Pomp of a *Roman Triumph*; which I doubt not indeed was originally derived from the splendid *Entries* of these *sacred Conquerors* into their own Cities.

In the Account^{3o} which *Xiphiline*, the Abridger of *Dio Cassius*, hath written of the *triumphal Entry* of *Nero* into *Rome*, after his *Victories in Greece*, are contained most of the Particulars of this Ceremony. I shall therefore give a Translation of the whole Passage, adding to it such farther Circumstances as I find mentioned in other Authors.

“ When therefore he [*Nero*] made his publick Entry into *Rome*,
 “ *Part of the Walls was thrown down, and a large Breach was*
 “ *made in the Gates*, upon an Information given him by some People,
 “ that it was customary to have both those Things done for such
 “ who had obtained the *Crown* in the *sacred Games*. The March
 “ was begun by those who carried the several *Crowns* which the Em-

^{3o} Dio Cass. in *Nero*.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxliii

“ peror had gained. These were followed by others, who bore
 “ upon the Tops of Spears little *Tablets*, wherein were specified the
 “ *Games*, the particular *Contest*, against what *Antagonists*, by what
 “ *Pieces of Musick*, and in what *Plays* ³¹, he had come off victo-
 “ rious ; to each of which was added, *That Nero Caesar was the first*
 “ *Roman, from the Beginning of the World, who had been proclaimed*
 “ *Victor in this Contest*. Afterwards came the Emperor himself, in
 “ a *triumphal Chariot* (the very fame which *Augustus* had made use
 “ of in his *Triumphs* for the many glorious Victories he had gained)
 “ in a *Robe of Purple* ³², *embroidered with Stars of Gold*, *crowned with*
 “ *the Olympick Olive*, and holding the *Pythian Laurel* in his Hand,
 “ and with him rode the *Harper Diodorus*. In this Manner, attend-
 “ ed by the *Soldiers*, the *Roman Knights*, and the *Senate*, he pro-
 “ ceeded through the *Circus* ³³ (an Arch of which he had caused to
 “ be demolished) and the *Forum* up to the *Capitol* ; and from thence
 “ to the *Palace* ³⁴ and the *Temple of Apollo* : the whole City in the
 “ mean Time lighting up *Lamps* or *Torches*, wearing *Crowns* and
 “ *Ribbons*, and burning *Incense* ³⁵ ; while all the Multitude, and the
 “ *Senators* in particular, cried out ³⁶ *Oua, Olympick Conqueror !*
 “ *Oua, Pythian Conqueror ! Augustus ! Augustus ! To Nero Her-*
 “ *cules ! To Nero Apollo ! How singular* ³⁷ *in thy Glory ! The only one,*
 “ *who hath passed through the whole Circle of Games, and come off vic-*
 “ *torious in them all ! The only one from the Beginning of the World !*
 “ *Augustus, Augustus ! O Voice* ³⁸ *Divine ! Happy are they that hear*
 “ *thee ! In many Places as he passed along there were Victims slain :*

³¹ Suet. in Nero.

³² Ibid. ³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid. ³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ So it is in the Original, a Word of Exclamation, importing, as appears from this Passage, the same as *Huzza* in *Eng-lish*.

³⁷ The Word in the Original is Περὶ ὁδοῦ νίκης, which cannot be rendered into *Eng-lish* but by a Periphrasis.

³⁸ Alluding to the Victory he obtained in the Musical and Poetical Contests in the *Pythian Games*.

cxliv A DISSERTATION ON

“ the Streets were several Times strewed with ³⁹ *Saffron*, and *Birds*,
 “ *Ribbons*, and *Confessions* were cast into them. After these Things
 “ he appointed *Chariot-Races* in the *Circus*, whither he brought all
 “ the *Greens* that he had gained ⁴⁰, and placed them round the
 “ *Egyptian Obelisk*. These were in Number One thousand Eight
 “ hundred and Eight.”

That it may not be imagined, that the greatest Part of the Circumstances attending this magnificent Procession were peculiar to *Nero*, as Emperor of the World, I shall make it appear from several Instances, that *Nero* was in all Probability governed, as to the Ceremony of this *triumphal Entry*, by what was done on the like Occasions by his Brother *Conquerors of Greece*. He surpassed them undoubtedly in Splendour and Magnificence. He had the Wealth of the Roman Empire, the *triumphal Chariot* of *Augustus*, the *Prætorian Bands*, the *Knights* and *Senators of Rome*, for his Attendants; and the *Metropolis* of all the World for the Theatre of his Pomp.

That it was customary for the *sacred Conquerors* to make their *Entry* through a *Breach* in the *Walls*, is evident not only from the above-cited Passage of *Dio Cass.* but from another in the *Symposiacks* of *Plutarch* ⁴¹, where a Reason is assigned for that Custom, viz. *That a City, which is inhabited by Men, who are able to fight and conquer, hath little Occasion for Walls.*

Vitruvius informs us ⁴², that the *Conquerors* in the *Sacred Games*, viz. the *Olympick*, *Pythian*, *Isthmian*, and *Nemean*, were accustomed to make their *Entries* in *Chariots* drawn by *four Horses*; and *Diodorus Sic.* ⁴³, speaking of *Exænetus* of *Agriгентum*, who in the 92d *Olympiad* came off victorious in the *Olympick Games*, says, he entered *Agriгентum* in a *Chariot* drawn by *four Horses*, attended by a great Multitude of his Fellow-Citizens; among whom were three hun-

³⁹ Suet. in *Nero*. *Ingestæque Avæ*,
Lemisci et Bellaria.

⁴⁰ *Dio Cass* in *Nero*.

⁴¹ See also Suet. in *Nero*.

⁴² *Lib.* ix. init.

⁴³ *Lib.* xiii.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxlv

dred mounted in so many *Chariots*, drawn each by a *Pair* of white Horses.

That the *Olympick Conquerors* wore *embroidered Garments*, may be collected from a Passage in *Lucian*⁴⁴; though it is not so clear what Colour the *Ground* of those Garments was of: *Faber*⁴⁵ thinks they were at first of one Colour, either *White* or *Purple*, and that they were not work'd or embroidered 'till about the Time of *Lucian*. But as *Nero*, in the *Cavalcade* above-described, seems to have been governed in every Particular by the Practice of the *Greeks* on the like Occasion, and as we find him dressed in a *Purple*, or *Scarlet Robe, embroidered with Stars of Gold*, we may very fairly conclude that a *Purple*, or *Scarlet Robe embroidered*, though perhaps not in the same Pattern nor with so rich Materials, was the *triumphal Habit* of an *Olympick Conqueror*, before the Times of *Lucian*.

Though the Degree of Servility and Adulation, to which the *Romans* were at this Time arrived, may be supposed to have carried them to some Excess in the Honours paid by the whole City of *Rome* to *Nero* at his *Triumphal Entry*; such as *burning Incense, slaying Victims, strewing the Streets with Saffron*, &c. as he passed along: Honours which might well be thought due to him, whom the *Senators* in their Acclamations dignified, and as it were *deified*, by the Titles of *Hercules* and *Apollo*; and of which I cannot find any Instances among the *Greeks*: yet the Custom of carrying lighted *Lamps*, or *Torches*, before the *sacred Conquerors*, is mentioned by *Chrysostome*⁴⁶; and that of the whole City's wearing *Crowns* and *Ribbons*, is shewn by *Paschalius*⁴⁷, to have obtained universally, among the *Greeks* in particular, upon all Occasions of publick Festivity, among which are to be reckoned these *triumphal Entries* of the

⁴⁴ In *Vita Demonac.*

⁴⁵ *Agon. L. ii. c. 12.*

⁴⁶ *Apud Fab. Agon. L. ii. c. 10.*

⁴⁷ *De Corona, L. ii. c. 11. L. vi.*

c. 22.

cxlvi A DISSERTATION ON

sacred Conquerors. In the same Author likewise we may learn, that it was usual to cast upon the *Conqueror*, as he pass'd along, *Herbs, Leaves, Flowers, Chaplets* and *Ribbons*, or *Fillets* (*ταβιάς*) which two last, *viz. Chaplets* and *Ribbons*, were sometimes presented to them on these Occasions by their private and particular Friends.

We have seen above, that *Nero's Cavalcade* proceeded first to the *Capitol*, and then to the *Temple of Apollo*; where, doubtless, he offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, the *Patron* of the *Olympick*, and to *Apollo*, the *Patron* of the *Pythian Games*. And in this I think it highly probable (though I cannot at present support my Opinion by any positive Authorities) that he imitated the *sacred Conquerors* of *Greece*; whose *triumphal Cavalcades* I cannot help considering as *religious Processions*, ending with Sacrifices of *Thanksgiving*, either to the *Tutelary Deity* of the Place, or to the *Patron* of those *Games*, in which they had gained the Victory, and perhaps to both. If we look upon them in this Light, and remember at the same Time that the *Country* of the *Conqueror* shared with him in the Glory accruing from his *Victory*, we shall be the less surprized at finding these *Triumphs* accompanied with so much Solemnity and Pomp. They were indeed publick Festivals, in which the whole State was concerned; though I suppose the Magnificence, with which they were celebrated, bore always some Proportion to the Wealth and Dignity of the *Conquerors* themselves or of their Friends, or to that Degree of Estimation in which they stood with their Fellow-Citizens. To one or other of these at least they were indebted for those *Odes* which were written purposely for them, set to Music, and sung by a Chorus ⁴⁸, either during the Procession or in the Temples of the Deities; or at the sumptuous Entertainments made on these Occasions either by the *Conquerors* or their Friends. If neither the *Conqueror* nor his Friends were able or willing to procure a particular

⁴⁸ Instances of what I here advance re- Odes were sung, shall be given in my
lating to the several Places where these Notes on the Odes of *Pindar*.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxlvii

Ode in honour of his Victory, he was obliged to content himself with that made by *Archilochus*, or perhaps with a Part of it; as I have before observed in the Account, which hath already been given of this *Ode* from the *Scholiast* of *Pindar*.

How sumptuous these Entertainments (called by the *Greeks* *πρωτόγεια*, i. e. *Festivals of Victory*) sometimes were, and with how much Emulation the Friends of the *Conqueror* contended with each other for the Honour of entertaining him, may be collected from the following Story told by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Phocion*: *Phocion*, the Son of that great Man, having obtained a Victory in the *Panathenean Games*, and being invited by several of his Friends to accept of an Entertainment on that Occasion, *Phocion* at length ended the Dispute by pitching upon one, to whom he thought that Preference was due. But when he came to the Feast, and saw the extravagant Preparations that were made for it, and among other Things large Vessels filled with Wine and Spices set before the Guests when they came in, to wash their Feet, he said to his Son, *Phocus*, *why don't you make your Friend desist from dis honouring your Victory?*

I shall finish this Account of the publick Entries of the *Conquerors*, with observing, that as among the *Romans* every Victory did not entitle a General to the Honour of a *Triumph*, so neither among the *Greeks* did a Victory in any *Games* (of which the Number in *Greece* cannot easily be reckoned) entitle the *Conqueror* to the Honour of a publick Entry. This Privilege was confined to a few only, and at first probably to those only which were called *sacred*, namely, the *Olympick*, *Pythian*, *Isthmian*, and *Nemean*. The Number of these *Games* (from this Privilege named *Isclassici Agones*, i. e. *Games* entitling the *Conqueror* to a triumphal Entry) seems to have been afterwards encreased by the Authority of the *Roman Emperors* 49; who, besides that Privilege, annexed others to them of the same kind

⁴⁹ See *Pliny's* Epistle to *Trajan*, *De Isclassicis*, with the Emperor's Answer.

cxlviii A DISSERTATION ON

with those anciently, and perhaps originally, appropriated by the *Greeks* to the *Four sacred Games*. What these were I shall now proceed to shew.

The most considerable of these was the *Stipend*, or *Salary*, allotted to the *sacred Conquerors* by their respective Cities, which became due, according to the Regulation made by *Trajan*, from the Time of their publick Entry, and was continued to them for the Remainder of their Lives. It appears indeed by *Pliny's* Letter to that Emperor, that the *Conquerors* demanded their Salaries from the Time of their gaining the Victory; and perhaps they founded their Demand upon the ancient Practice of the *Greeks*. What their *Stipends* or *Salaries* amounted to at their first Institution is no where said; but they seem to have increased in proportion as the Fondness, or Madness rather, of the *Grecians* for those *sacred Conquerors* increased, 'till there was Reason to apprehend that they might become burthenfome to the Publick, either from their Excess, or from the Number of those, who were entitled to them. To put a final Stop to this growing Evil, among his own People at least, *Solon*⁵⁰, the great Legislator of the *Athenians*, made a Law, by which he limited the annual Allowance of an *Olympick Conqueror* to five hundred *Drachmæ*, or sixteen Pounds two Shillings and eleven Pence⁵¹; that of an *Isthmian Conqueror* to one hundred *Drachmæ* only, or three Pounds four Shillings and seven Pence; and so of the others in proportion; which by the way shews the great Preference given to the *Olympick Crown*.

In *Sparta* indeed, from whence *Lycurgus* had banished Gold and Silver, there was no pecuniary Reward allotted to these *Conquerors*, nor any publick Allowance of Provisions, as there was in all the other States of *Greece*, and even at *Athens*, 'till it was either changed by *Solon* into Money, or rated by him at the Sums above-mentioned. The Government of *Sparta* was calculated for a military People only, and indeed was properer for a Camp than a City; the Re-

⁵⁰ Laert. & Plut. in Solone.

⁵¹ See Arbuth. Tables.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxlix

wards were of the same kind, rather honourable than lucrative. What that was, which was conferred upon a *sacred Conqueror*, and how highly it was valued by those enthusiastick Lovers of military Glory, will appear by the Answer of a *Spartan*⁵², who at the *Olympick Games* having been tempted by the Offer of a large Sum of Money either to decline the Contest, or yield the Victory, refused it; and being questioned, after he had with much Difficulty subdued his Adversary, what he should gain by that Victory? answered with a Smile, *I shall have the Honour of being possed before my King in Battle.*

It ought not to be concluded from what has been said, that the *Olympick Olive* was less valued at *Sparta* than at *Athens* or any other of the *Greek Cities*. *Lycurgus*, the Lawgiver of *Sparta*, is by some Authors said to have joined with *Iphitus* in restoring the *Olympick Games*; which Account, if true, puts this Matter out of all Question; and if false could never have gained Credit, had the *Spartans* treated the *Olympick Olive* with Contempt. Add to this, that in the List of *Olympick Conquerors* are to be found the Names of several *Spartans*; and in *Pausanias* an Account of many *Statues* erected at *Olympia* in honour of their Victories; but we may learn what Opinion the *Spartans* in general entertained of the Glory of an *Olympick Victory*, by this Saying of a *Spartan Woman*⁵³, who, while she was engaged in a publick Profection, hearing that a Victory had been obtained over the Enemies of *Sparta*, and being told at the same Time that her Son was dead of the Wounds he had received in the Battle, instead of pulling the Chaplet from her Head, and shewing any Signs of Grief, gloried in the News, and said to her Companions, *How much more honourable is it for him thus to die in Battle, than to live and gain an Olympick Crown!* as if she had said, An *Olympick Victory* is esteemed the highest Honour, but I think it more glorious

⁵² Plut in Lycurgo.

⁵³ Plut. in Apophth. Lac.

c1 A DISSERTATION ON

for my Son to die in Battle fighting for his Country. And indeed she gave the Preference where it was due.

Another Reward conferred upon the *sacred Conquerors* was, the Honour of the *first Seat* at all publick Spectacles. This Prerogative is mentioned in a Poem written by *Xenophanes*, and quoted by *Atthe-neus* ; in which also, besides an *Allowance of Provisions*, Notice is taken of a *Present*⁵⁴ made to them by the Publick, to serve as a Monument of their Glory. What these Presents were is not said ; it is probable they were different in different Places. In *Cornelius Nepos*⁵⁵ we read of *Crowns of Gold* given at *Athens* to the *Olympick Conquerors* : perhaps a *Crown of Gold* was the usual Present of that City, the Value of which was limited by the Law of *Solon* above-mentioned ; for that Law may as well be understood to relate to the *Presents* as to the yearly *Allowance of Provisions* made to the *sacred Conquerors* : and it is evident from the Words of *Xenophanes*, cited by *Atthe-neus*, that they were entitled to both.

The last Privilege granted to the *sacred Conquerors*, which was an *Immunity from all Civil Offices*, seems to have been owing to the *Roman Emperors* ; who not only preserved to them their ancient Rights, but added others from Time to Time : among these was the *Exemption* just mentioned, of which I can find no Traces among the ancient *Greeks*. Neither was this *Exemption* granted to all the *sacred Conquerors*, but to those only who had gained Three Victories ; as appears from the following *Rescript* of the Emperors *Diocletian* and *Maximian* : *Athletis ita denuum, si per omnem etatem certasse, coronis quocque non minus tribus certaminis sacri, in quibus vel semel Romæ, seu antiquæ Græciæ merito coronati, non æmulis corruptis ac redemptis prebentur, civillum munerum tribui solet vacatio.* This *Rescript* is as it were the Text, which gave occasion to the long and learned Work of *Petrus Faber*, *Pierre du Faur*, intitled *Agonisticon* ;

⁵⁴ Deipn. l. x. c. 2. καὶ δῶκεν, ὅς οἱ προσέτατον σῆμα.

⁵⁵ In Alcibiade.

which,

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. ch

which, as Morf. *Burette*⁵⁶ observes (whose Words I have here tranſlated) may well paſs for an ample *Comment* upon a Law conceived in ſo few Words.

Theſe are all the Honours and Privileges, as far as I can find, to which the *ſacred Conquerors* were entitled either by the Laws or Cuſtoms of their reſpective Countries. To theſe indeed were ſometimes added *Statues*, or other *Monuments* of Glory, *Inſcriptions*, and even *Altars*, upon which Sacrifices were offered to them as to *Heroes* or *Demi-Gods*: of which laſt three Inſtances are recorded in Hiſtory. The firſt was *Philip of Crotona*, an *Olympick* Conqueror, and the moſt beautifull Man of his Time; to whom the *Egeſtans* aſter his Death erected an *heroick Monument*, and offered Sacrifices; though according to *Herodotus*⁵⁷, who relates this Story, he ſeems to have owed theſe extraordinary Honours rather to his *Beauty* than to his *Olympick Victory*.

The ſecond is *Eutbymus of Locris*, an *Athlete* famous for his Strength, and for having always come off victorious in the *Cæſtus* at *Olympia*, without being ever vanquiſhed. To this Conqueror were erected two Statues, one at *Locris*, the other at *Olympia*, which were both ſtruck with Lightning in one and the ſame Day. To him his Countrymen the *Locrians*, in Obedience to the Commands of an Oracle, offered Sacrifices not only after his Death, but even while he was yet alive: in all which Story, ſays *Pliny*⁵⁸ the *Naturaliſt*, who relates it, nothing appears to me ſo wonderfull, as the Gods having vouchſafed to appoint theſe Sacrifices.

Theagenes of the Iſland of *Thaſus* was the third of theſe *Heroes*, or *Demi-Gods*; of whoſe Actions and Victories, amounting in all to fourteen hundred, as alſo of his *Deiſtration*, *Pauſanias*⁵⁹ recounts many Wonders, with which I ſhall not trouble the Reader. It is ſufficient for my preſent Purpoſe to obſerve from that Author, that

⁵⁶ 3 Mem. ſur les Athletes. ⁵⁷ Terſt. C. 47. ⁵⁸ L. i. c. 47. ⁵⁹ L. vi. c. 11.

cli A DISSERTATION ON

he was worshipped after his Death, not by the *Thaſians* only, but by many other People as well *Greeks* as *Barbarians*; who set up Images of him in many Places, and ascribed to them the miraculous Power of healing all Manner of Diseases.

As these Honours were in themselves very extraordinary, so were they very uncommon; and seem, if well considered, to have arisen rather from some peculiar Circumstance or Incident, which either the Superstition of the People, or the Artifice of those who managed the Oracles, denominated miraculous, than from any Opinion commonly entertained, that divine Honours were really due to the Merit of these admired *Conquerors*. They were indeed all of them treated with great Reverence and Distinction, set above all other Mortals, and almost equalled to the Gods, as *Horace* intimates in these Words:

Palmæque nobilis

Terrarum Dominos erexit ad Deos.

And with these Honours and Rewards, I dare say it will be thought, they had more than sufficient Reason to be contented.

SECTION XVII.

Of the Utility of the Olympick Games.

HAVING in the preceding Sections given the best and fullest Account, that I have been able to collect, of the original Establishment, the Laws, Order, and Oeconomy of the *Olympick Games*, together with the several *Honours*, *Privileges*, and *Rewards* conferred upon the *sacred Conquerors* in their respective Countries, I shall in this endeavour to point out some of the principal Emoluments, accruing to the whole *Grecian Name* from this great *Political Institution*; which under the Title and Sanction of a *Religious Festival*,

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cliii

val, attained to such a Degree of Reverence and Esteem, as enabled it to subsist above a thousand Years ; a Duration exceeding that of any of the most famous Empires and Commonwealths of the ancient World. If during this long Term, the *Grecians* do not appear to have availed themselves of all the Advantages offered to them by the Laws and Constitution of the *Olympick Games*, it cannot from hence be concluded, that no such Advantages were either originally included in that *Institution*, or could afterwards have been grafted on it : since the *Grecians*, though they seldom wanted a sufficient Number of Lawgivers and Philosophers, whose Sagacity enabled them to discover, as their Virtue prompted them to pursue whatever might conduce to the publick Good, paid but little Deference to the Politicks of those sage Counsellors, and generally kept their Attention fixed upon the particular Views, which the separate Interests of the several little States, into which they were divided, or the Factions, which rent those little States into different Parties, suggested ; and by which they were either so blinded as not to see, or so disappointed as never unanimously to concur in following those wise Schemes, which tended to unite them all in one great Body, under one common Name. Such apparently was the Tendency of that Law of the *Olympick Games*, which excluded all who were not *Grecians*, from contending in them ; as of that other also, which enjoined a Cessation of Hostilities among all those States of *Greece*, which happened to be at War with each other, under the Penalty of being refused the Liberty of performing their Sacrifices to *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, upon that his solemn *Festival*. Of the Wisdom and Policy of these Laws the *Grecians*, indeed, seem to have been so little sensible, as to have drawn from them scarce any of those great Advantages, which they were calculated to produce ; though they eagerly and universally laid hold of some far less important, suggested to them by other Parts of this *Institution*. These were the *Gymnastick* and *Equestrian Games* ; to the Conquerors in

x

which

cliv A DISSERTATION ON

which the *Olympick Olive* being offered as an honorary Reward, soon kindled among the several States of *Greece* such an Emulation and Ardour to excell in all the various Exercises, of which they consisted, that there was scarce a Town of any Note, either in *Greece* itself, or in the Colonies of *Greek* Extraction settled along the Coasts of *Asia* and *Africa*, in the *Ionian* and *Ægean* Islands, in *Sicily*, *Italy*, and many other Parts of *Europe*, in which there was not a *Gymnasium*, or *School of Exercise*, maintained at the publick Expence, with a View of training up their Youth in a Manner that best suited, as they imagined, to make them usefull to their Country. Neither were they withheld from concurring with this Part of the great *Political Institution* of the *Olympick Games* by the partial Considerations above-mentioned, arising from the different and inconsistent Views and Interests of the several States, into which *Greece* was divided; since, though the Citizens of every *Grecian* State were equally admitted to contend, if duely qualified, for the *Olympick Crown*, yet was every State left at Liberty to pursue its own particular Schemes, whether of Ambition or Security, notwithstanding the temporary Obedience which they all agreed to pay to the *Olympick Laws*, during the Celebration of that *Festival*. And therefore, as by training up their Youth in the *Gymnastick Exercises*, the several States of *Greece* perceived they were able to qualify their Citizens for obtaining the *Olympick Olive*, upon which they came by Degrees to set a great, and perhaps too great a Value, and render them at the same Time serviceable to the Commonwealth in those Wars, whether offensive or defensive, in which every State, either from its Strength or Weakness, was almost perpetually engaged: it is no Wonder that the *Gymnastick Exercises* were so cultivated and encouraged by the *Grecians*; and came to be esteemed by them as the principal Part of the *Olympick Institution*. In which Light I shall now consider them, and begin those Observations, which I here propose to make, on the *Utility* of the *Olympick*

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clv

Olympick Games, by shewing what Advantages the *Greeks* in general derived from the *Gymnastick Exercises*. To this purpose I shall present the Reader with a Translation of a *Dialogue of Lucian*, in which this Subject is fully treated, under the Character of *Solon* the great *Legislator* of the *Athenians*, and one of the most renowned of the *Grecian Sages*. Who *Anacharsis*, the other *Interlocutor* in this Dialogue, was, and for what Purposes he came into *Greece*, will appear from the Dialogue itself; which I chuse to give entire, though it contain some Matters not strictly relative to the Point in Question, because those Matters, I am persuaded, will afford the Reader both Entertainment and Instruction. The Scene is laid in *Athens*, in a *Gymnasium*, or *School of Exercise*; an exact Plan and Description of which, from *Vitruvius*, may be seen in *Mercurialis de Arte Gymastica*, but which is too long to be here inserted. It may be sufficient to observe, that these *Gymnasiums*, or *Schools of Exercise*, were very spacious Buildings of a square or oblong Form, surrounded on the Outside with Porticoes, and containing on the Inside a large open Area for the Exercises, encompassed likewise with Porticoes, covered Places for Exercise in bad Weather, Baths, Chambers for Oil, Sand, &c. a *Stadium*, and Groves of Trees, with several Seats and Benches up and down; all contrived for the Pleasure and Convenience of those who frequented them, either on account of exercising themselves, seeing the Exercises of others, or hearing the Rhetoricians, Philosophers, and other Men of Learning, who here read their Lectures, held their Disputations, and recited their several Performances whether in Prose or Verse.

Of Gymnastick Exercises.

A DIALOGUE, translated

From the Greek of LUCIAN.

SOLON and ANACHARSIS.

Ana. **T**ELL me, *Solon*, what those young Fellows are about, who are grappled and locked together in that Manner, and endeavouring to trip up one another ; and those others, who roll and tumble in the Mud like so many Hogs, and squeeze and throttle each other 'till they are almost strangled. But just now I saw them strip, anoint and rub one another by Turns, very peaceably and like good Friends ; when all on a sudden, and without any Offence taken as I could perceive, they fell together by the Ears, threw their Heads in each others Faces, and butted like two Rams ; and now one of them, as you see, has lifted his Antagonist off his Legs, dashed him upon the Ground, and falling upon him, will not suffer him to rise ; but on the contrary, drives him deeper into the Mud, and twisting his Legs about his Middle, and setting his Elbow in his Throat, seems determined to suffocate him ; while the poor Wretch at the same Time strikes him gently on the Shoulder, begging Quarter, as I suppose, and beseeching him not to choak him in good earnest. Neither can I observe, that they are in the least shy of dirtying themselves, notwithstanding their being rubbed all over with Oil : and indeed they soon hide it with Mud ; by the Help of which, and a pretty deal of Sweat, they become so slippery, that I cannot forbear laughing

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clvii

laughing to see them sliding like Eels out of one anothers Hands. Younder too are others, doing the same Thing in the open Air, with this Difference, that instead of Mud they are covered over with Sand, which they dig up and cast upon one another, while each seems to receive it very willingly ; and indeed, like a Parcel of Cocks and Hens, they spread and throw it carefully all over their Bodies, in order, as I suppose, to prevent their escaping so easily out of each others Embraces ; while the Sand, by diminishing and drying up the Lubricity occasioned by the Oil, gives each of them a firmer and better Hold upon his Adversary. And now being sufficiently landed over, they fall to it with Hand and Foot, without either of them endeavouring to throw down his Antagonist. And one of them seems to be spitting out all his Teeth, with a whole Mouthfull of Sand and Blood, occasioned by a terrible Blow which he has just now received upon the Jaws. Neither does that Magistrate there part them, or put an End to the Battle (for I take him to be some Magistrate or other, by his being clothed in Purple) on the contrary, he encourages them to proceed, and praises that Fellow who struck the other on the Mouth. In other Places too I see others, who are in the same Manner covered over with Sand, and who spring up as if they were running, and yet they remain upon the same Spot, and then leap up all together, and kick about their Heels in the Air. Now I would fain know to what Purpose they do all this ; for to me it appears so like Madness, that no one shall easily convince me, that they who do this are not beside themselves. *Solon.* No Wonder, *Anacharsis*, that these Things appear strange to you, considering they are foreign, and totally different from the Manners of the *Scythians* ; who on their part have undoubtedly many Customs, that would in like Manner to a *Grecian* Spectator seem as ridiculous and absurd as these do to you. But satisfy yourself, my Friend, there is nothing of Madness in what you

The *Gymnarch*, or President of the *Gymnasium*.

1

see :

clviii A DISSERTATION ON

see ; neither do those young Fellows strike, tumble in the Mud, and cover one another over with Sand, from a quarrelsome and abusive Spirit. These Things have their Utility and Pleasure, and give, besides, no small Strength and Vigour to our Bodies. And I question not, if you continue any Time in *Greece*, as I suppose you intend to do, but you will shortly make one among those dirty Fellows, that are smeared all over with Mud and Sand ; so pleasant and so profitable will the Thing appear to you.

Ana. Far from it, *Solon* ! You may keep your Pleasure and your Profit to yourselves ; for if any of you was to put me into such a Pickle, he should know that I do not wear a Sword to no Purpose. But tell me, what Name do you give to these Things, or what must we say these Fellows are doing ? *Solon.* This Place, *Anacharxis*, is by us called a *Gymnasium*, and is dedicated to *Apollo the Lycian* ; whose Image you there see leaning upon a Column, and holding his Bow in his Left Hand, while his Right Hand bent up over his Head, seems to denote Weariness and Repose after long Labour and Fatigue. And as for the *Exercises*, that are performed in this Place, that which is practised yonder in the *Mud* is called the *Pale*, or *Wrestling*, as is that also in which those young Fellows in the *Sand* are now engaged ; but they whom you see standing upright, and beating and buffeting one another, are named *Pancratiasts*. Besides these Exercises, we have many more of the like Nature ; as the Exercises of the *Cæstus*, of the *Quoit*, and *Leaping*. Of these consist our Games, in which whoever comes off *Conqueror*, is deemed the best Man, and obtains the Prize. *Ana.* Pray, what may those Prizes be ? *Solon.* In the *Olympick Games*, a *Crown* made of the Branches of a *Wild Olive* ; in the *Isthmian*, of the Branches of the *Pine Tree* ; in the *Nemean*, of *Parsley* ; in the *Pythian*, of *Laurel* ;

² In the Original it is *αὐτοὶ δὲ μῦθα τῶν* Laurel, in *Pindar* and other Authors, is *ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ*. But as the Learned are not given to the Conquerors in the *Pythian* agreed upon the Meaning of *μῦθα* in this Games, I chose to substitute that instead and other Passages, and as a Crown of of translating the above-written Words. and

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clix

and with us, in our *Panathenæan Games*, a *Jar of Oil*, made from the *Olive* consecrated to *Minerva*. What do you laugh at, *Anacharsis*? Is it because you think these Prizes trifling and ridiculous?

Ana. Oh, by no means, *Solon*. On the contrary, you have reckoned up a Parcel of magnificent *Prizes*; such as give their Donors good Reason to value themselves upon their Liberality; and such as are extremely worth all the Pains and Labours that People undergo to obtain them.

Solon. But, my good Friend, we do not singly regard the Prizes themselves, but consider them as Tokens and Ensins of the *Victory*; the Glory attending upon which is of the utmost Value to the *Conquerors*. For this, all those who seek for Honour from their Toils, think it glorious to be kicked and cuffed, since without Trouble it is not to be obtained: on the contrary he, who would attain to it, must previously undergo many Hardships and Difficulties, and expect from his Labours only an Event so delightfull and advantageous.

Ana. What you call advantageous and delightfull, *Solon*, is for these *Conquerors* to be crowned in the View of all the World, and to be praised for their Victories, who just before were the Objects of Pity and Compassion on account of their Wounds and Bruises: and yet it seems they think themselves happy, if in Return for all their Labours they can get a Branch of *Laurel* or a little *Parley*. *Solon.* I tell you, *Anacharsis*, you are still ignorant of our Customs: but in a little while you will have another Opinion of them; when you go to our great *Festivals*, and see the vast Concourse of People, and Theatres capable of containing many Thousands crouded with Spectators, who all come to view these Contests; when you hear the Praises that are bestowed upon the Combatants, and the *Conqueror* deemed equal to a God. *Ana.* That very Thing, *Solon*, is the most miserable Circumstance of all, that they do not suffer these Injuries in the Sight of a few People only, but in the Presence of such a Number of Spectators, so many Witnesses of their Shame; who undoubtedly must esteem them

clx A D I S S E R T A T I O N ON

them very happy, when they see them streaming with Blood, or almost strangled by their *Antagonists*, for such is the Felicity that attends these Victories. But I must tell you, *Solon*, that amongst us *Scythians*, if any Man strikes another, throws him down, or tears his Garment, he would be grievously fined by the Elders, though the Injury was done in the Presence of but a few Witnesses; and not before such a Multitude of People as, you say, come together at the *Isthmian* and *Olympick Games*. For my part, I cannot help pitying the Combatants for what they undergo, and wondering at the Spectators, who, you tell me, come together from all Parts to these *Festivals*, neglecting their necessary Business, and keeping holiday upon no better a Pretence than this. Neither can I conceive what Pleasure there is, in seeing Fellows beat, wounded, dashed against the Ground, and mangled by one another.

Solon. If it were now the Season, *Anacharys*, either of the *Olympick*, the *Isthmian*, or the *Panathenæan Games*, the Sight of what passes there would instruct you, that it is not without good Reason that we concern ourselves so seriously with these Matters. For it is not in the Power of Language to give you so strong a Relish of the Pleasure arising from these Spectacles, as if, seated there in the middle of the Spectators, you yourself beheld the Courage of the *Combatants*, the Beauty of their Bodies, their surprizing Health and Vigour, their admirable Skill, their indefatigable Strength, their Boldness, their Ardour and Emulation, their unconquerable Resolution, and unwearied Application and Solitude to obtain the Victory. I am certain you would never cease praising, and applauding, and clapping.

Ana. And laughing, and hooting too, *Solon*, I can assure you. For all those fine Things that you just now reckoned up, their Courage, their Vigour, their Beauty, and their Resolution, I see all thrown away for nothing; not to rescue their Country from Danger, their Lands from Pillage, or their Friends and Family from Captivity and Oppression. The braver therefore, and the better these Fellows

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are, the more ridiculous they to suffer such Things, and endure so much to no Purpose ; to disgrace and soil with Sand, and Knobs, and Swellings, the Comeliness and large Proportion of their Bodies, that they may be Masters of a Bit of *Laurel* and *Wild Olive*, for I never can forget those same noble *Prizes*. But tell me, are these *Prizes* given to all the *Combatants* ? *Solon*. By no means ; they can fall to the Share of but one amongst them all. *Ana*. They take all these Pains then, *Solon*, upon an uncertain and doubtful Prospect of Victory, knowing that there can be but one *Conqueror*, and many conquered ; who, poor Wretches, must have nothing for their Labour but Wounds and Bruises. *Solon*. You seem,

Anacharsis, to have no Idea of a well-constituted Government, or you would not have thus turned iato Ridicule some of our best and wisest Customs. But if ever you come to consider how a Commonwealth is to be framed, and how her Citizens are to be ordered for the best, you will then approve of these Exercises, and the Emulation wherewith we endeavour to excell in them ; and will understand that there is much Profit mingled with these Labours, though now you think them useless and impertinent.

Ana. Indeed, *Solon*, for no other Reason did I come from *Scythia* to *Greece*, traversing such a Tract of Country, and passing over the broad and stormy *Euxine*, but to be instructed in the Laws of the *Greeks* ; to observe their Manners, and study the best Forms of Government. For the same Reason, among all the *Athenians*, and all other Strangers, have I selected you for a Friend, out of regard to the Reputation I had heard of your having composed a Set of Laws, invented the best Rules of Life, and introduced among your Citizens wholesome Disciplines and Regulations ; and framed indeed the whole System of their Commonwealth. Wherefore you cannot have so great an Inclination to instruct and take me for your Disciple, as I shall have Pleasure in sitting by you, even hungry and thirsty as I am, and hearing you discourse as long as you can hold out, upon Laws and

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Government.

clxii A DISSERTATION ON

Government. *Solon.* It is no easy Matter, my Friend, to go through all in a short Time; but you shall be instructed, by Degrees, in some Particulars, concerning the Worship of the Gods, the Duty to our Parents, the Laws of Marriage, &c. And as to what relates to our Youth, and the Manner in which they are ordered, as soon as they begin to understand what is right, are growing towards Men, and can endure Labour and Fatigue, all this will I now explain to you, that you may understand for what Purpose these *Exercises* have been prescribed to them; and wherefore we oblige them to inure themselves to Toil, not with a View to the *Games* only, that they may obtain the *Prizes*, for to them but few out of many can attain, but that they may by these means be enabled to acquire for themselves and their Country a much greater Good. There is a *Contest*, *Anacharsis*, of another kind, and of much more general Concern, in which all good Citizens should be engaged; and a *Crown*, not made up of *Olive*, *Pine*, or *Parsley*, but comprehending the Happiness and Welfare of Mankind; as Liberty, private and publick, Wealth, Honour, the Observation and Enjoyment of the holy Festivals of our Country, and the Safety and Security of our Friends and Kindred; in a Word, all those Blessings that we ask of Heaven. All these Things are interwoven in this *Crown*, and are the Result of the *Contest* I speak of; and to which these Exercises and these Labours are not a little conducive.

Ana. Are not you then, *Solon*, a strange Man, when you had such *Prizes* as these, to tell me of *Laurel*, and *Parsley*, and Branches of *Wild Olive*, and *Pine Trees*? *Solon.* Neither will these *Prizes*, *Anacharsis*, appear trifling to you, when you have heard what I have to say; since they arise from the same Principle, and are only lesser Parts of that greater *Contest*, and that *Crown*, that beautiful *Crown* I spoke of. But my Discourse, I know not how, has over-leaped all Method, and led me to mention those Things first, which are transacted in the *Isthmian*, the *Olympick*, and the

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxiii

Nemean Games. But however, as we are both at leisure, and you, as you say, are desirous of hearing, we may easily run back to the Beginning, to that great *publick Contest*; for the Sake of which, I maintain, all these Things were originally instituted. *Ana.* Better do so, *Solon*; besides the Discourse will run faster off when reduced to Method. And perhaps I may be persuaded in a little Time to laugh, when I see a Man valuing himself upon his *Olive* or *Parley Crown*. But if you please, let us go into that shady Place, and sit down upon those *Benches*, that we may not be troubled with the Noise of those who are hollowing the *Combatants*. Besides, I must confess that I cannot very well bear this hot scorching Sun, darting so directly on my bare Head; for I thought it advisable to leave my Bonnet behind, that I might not appear to be a Foreigner by my Dress. It is now also the Season of the Year, in which that hottest of Constellations, by you called the *Dog-Star*, sets every Thing on fire, and makes the Air itself dry and parching; especially when the Sun full South, and directly over our Heads, darts upon us his intolerable Beams: wherefore, I am surprized to see that you, who are now in Years, neither sweat with Heat as I do, nor seem at all disturbed at it, nor look about for a shady Place to get under; but on the contrary, with great Ease and Contentment receive the Sun. *Solon.* These unprofitable Toils, *Anacharsis*, these continual *Rollings* in the *Mud*, and these Hardships and Labours that we endure in the open Air and in the *Sand*, serve to arm and fortify us against the Darts of the Sun; and make us want no Bonnet to keep his Beams from our Heads: but let us go. In this Conversation, however, you must not look upon all I say as Law, and so rest satisfied with it; but whenever you shall think me wrong, contradict me and set me right: in which Case I shall not fail of attaining one of these two Things, either thoroughly to convince you, or by your Objections to be myself made sensible of my own Errors. Upon which Occasion the whole City of *Athens* will not fail to acquire

knowledge her Obligations to you, since in instructing me you shall perceive you oblige her; from whom I shall secrete nothing, but throwing all into the publick Stock, will say to the People, Ye Men of *Athens*, I indeed gave you Laws, such as I believed would be most serviceable to the State: but this Stranger here, pointing to you, *Anacharsis*, this *Scythian*, who is a wise Man, hath overthrown all my Knowledge, and hath taught me better Doctrines and better Institutions: wherefore let him be recorded as a Benefactor to your State, and let his Statue in Brass be erected near the Image of *Minerva*, among those Heroes from whom our *Athenian* Tribes derive their Names. And assure yourself, that the *Athenians* will never be ashamed to learn, even from a Foreigner and a *Scythian*, what shall be expedient for them. *Ana.* This is what I have always heard, that you *Athenians* were much given to Irony. For how should I, a Wanderer, who have always lived in Waggon, perpetually moving from Place to Place, who never dwelt in any City, nor ever saw one till now, how should I be able to discourse upon Government, and teach a People, as old as the Earth they live on, and who for these many Ages have inhabited this most ancient City; under good and wholesome Laws? Much less can I instruct thee, *Solon*, who from the very Beginning, as they say, have applied yourself to that most useful Science, of knowing how a State may be best administered, and what Laws are fittest to render it flourishing and happy. But however, I will obey your Orders as a Legislator, and contradict you where I shall think you mistaken, that I myself may be more thoroughly informed. But see, we are now got out of the Sun into the Shade, and here, upon these cold Stones, we may sit very pleasantly and with great Convenience. Now begin your Discourse, and tell me how, even from Childhood, you manage and exercise your Youth, so as out of this *Mud* and these *Labours* they come forth good and valiant Men; as also how this same Sand, and these *Tumbings* and *Rollings*, can conduce

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to make them virtuous; for this is what I have all along principally wanted to know. For the other Matters, you shall teach me as Occasion offers. But pray remember, *Solon*, that you are talking to a *Foreigner*; by which I mean, that your Arguments must be neither intricate nor long; for if they run into any length, I am afraid I shall not remember the Beginning. *Solon*. You yourself, *Anacharsis*, will be better able to judge when I become obscure, or wander idly and unprofitably from my Subject; in either of which Cases you have full Liberty to interrupt me, to put in what you please, and to cut me short. But if I shoot neither beyond nor beside the Mark, you will have no Reason to object to the Length of my Discourse. This is the constant Practice of the Court of the *Areopagus*, which takes Cognizance of capital Causes. For when the Judges are sitting on the Hill of *Mars* upon any Trial, relating to Murther, wilfull maiming, or setting fire to an House, the Parties have Leave to plead, and speak by Turns, both the *Plaintiff* and the *Defendant* themselves, or Orators whom they hire to plead for them. And while they speak to the Purpose, the Court suffers and hears them patiently. But if any one pretends to make a long Pre-amble to his Speech, with a View of inclining the Judges to his Cause; or attempts to raise Compassion or aggravate Matters from any Circumstance foreign to the Point in Question (a Practice very frequent among youthfull Orators) the Cryer going to him, silences him forthwith, not suffering him to trifle with the Court, or involve the Cause in Words; that the Judges may have nothing before them but the plain and naked Fact. In like Manner, *Anacharsis*, I constitute you my Judge upon this Occasion; agreeably therefore to the Practice of my own *Court*, give me a patient hearing, or, if you find me playing the Orator upon you, command me Silence. As long as I keep strictly to my Subject, there will be no harm, if I draw out my Discourse into some Length, for we are not now conversing in the Sun, that you need be uneasy should I be a little tedious. This Shade is thick,

and we are entirely at leisure. *Ana.* What you observe, *Solan*, is very right, and I am much obliged to you for your short Digression, by which you have acquainted me with the Practice of the *Areopagus*; a Practice truly admirable, and becoming upright Judges who purpoe to give Judgment according to Truth. But now to the other Matters: and since you have constituted me a Judge, I shall in hearing you observe the Method followed by that Court.

Solan. It is necessary in the first Place for you to hear, in a few Words, what we understand by a City and Citizens. By a City then we do not mean the Buildings, the Walls, the Temples, and the Harbours; alt these we look upon as a kind of Body, stable and immoveable, fitted for the Reception of the Inhabitants, in whom, as the animating Soul, we place the whole Power and Authority of fulfilling, ordering, commanding, and preserving every Thing. Upon this Persuasion we take care, as you see, of the Body of the City, to render it within as beautiful as may be, by adorning it with Buildings; and to secure it, as much as possible, from without by Walls and Ramparts. But our first and principal Concern is how to make our Citizens virtuous in Mind and strong in Body; for such Men are most likely to live decently and orderly together in Time of Peace, and in War to guard the City, and preserve it free and happy. The Care of them in their Infancy is left to their Mothers, their Nurses and Tutors; with Directions to bring them up and instruct them in all the Parts of a liberal and ingenious Education. But as soon as they come to understand what is right and commendable, when a Sense of Shame, Baseness, Diffidence, and a Love of Virtue, begins to spring in their Minds; and when their Bodies are become sufficient to endure Toil and Labour, their Joints and Members compact, and more firmly knit together, they are then taken and instructed as to their Minds in other Branches of Learning, and taught in another Manner to accustom their Bodies to Hardships and Fatigues. For we are by no means of Opinion, that it is sufficient

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxvii

cient for us to be, either in Mind or Body, those Things only that Nature made us. Either Part of us stands in need of Discipline and Instruction, by means of which the Good that is in us may be rendered much better, and the Bad amended and redressed. An Example of our Proceeding may be taken from the constant Practice of Gardeners, who, while the Plants are low and tender, cover and fence them round, to keep them from being injured by the Winds; but when their Stems grow large and strong, they prune away their Superfluities, and expose them to be shaken and agitated by the Winds, in order to render them the more fruitfull. To rouse and exercise their Minds we begin with teaching them *Musick* and *Arithmetick*, to form their Letters in Writing, and in Reading to pronounce them clearly and exactly. As they advance, we rehearse to them the Sayings of wise Men, the Actions of former Times, and other usefull Lessons, dressed out in Metre, that they may the better retain them in their Memories. By this means hearing perpetually of brave and virtuous Actions, they are incited by Degrees, and provoked to a Desire of imitating them, that their Names in like Manner may be sung and admired by Posterity. In which kind of Poetry we have many Pieces written by *Hesiod* and *Homer*. When they now draw towards an Age fit to be admitted into publick Offices, and it becomes expedient for them to think of concerning themselves with the Affairs of Government----But these Matters perhaps are foreign to my Purpose, which was to explain the Intention of the Bodily Exercises, in which we think proper to employ them, and not those of the Mind; wherefore I impose Silence upon myself, without waiting for the *Cryer*, or the Orders of you my Judge; who out of Civility and Respect, as I suppose, suffer me to go on prating thus idly about Matters nothing to the Purpose. *Ana.* Tell me, *Solon*, hath the Court of the *Areopagus* found out no proper Punishment for those who pass over in Silence such Things that are most necessary to be known? *Solon.* I cannot guess why you

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ask me that Question. *Ana.* Because, omitting to acquaint me with the particulars relating to the Mind, which I esteem the most excellent and the best worth hearing, you are going to relate Matters of much less Importance, Bodily Toils, and *Gymnastick Exercises*.

Solon. Calling to mind, *Anacharsis*, what was said at the Beginning of this Conversation, I was not willing to wander from my Subject, lest by saying too much I should perplex your Memory; but, if you think proper, I will run over these Matters in as few Words as possible; leaving a more exact Disquisition of them to another Opportunity. In order therefore to give their Minds a proper Tone and Harmony, we instruct them in our Laws; which being written in a large and fair Character, are publicly exposed to the Perusal of every one, who from their Ordinances may learn what is to be done, and what to be avoided. We then introduce them into the Societies of good and worthy Men (such as we call *Sophists* and *Philosophers*) from whose Conversation they learn to speak pertinently and properly, to act fairly and justly, to live together like Fellow-Citizens, to attempt no misbecoming Action, to pursue what is commendable, and to refrain from all kinds of Violence. Besides all this, we carry them for their Instruction into the *publick Theatres*, where in the Fables, both of *Tragedies* and *Comedies*, are set before them the Virtues and Vices of former Times; that they may avoid the one and emulate the other. To our *Comick Writers* we allow the Liberty of ridiculing and abusing such Citizens, as they know to be guilty of any base or unworthy Action. And this we do as well for their own Sakes, who by such kind of Reprimands may be made better, as for the many, who may be warned by their means to avoid the Censure due to the like Offences. *Ana.* I have seen those same *Tragedians* and *Comedians*, as you call them, *Solon*, those Fellows with heavy, high-heel'd *Bushkins*, and Robes all over laced with Gold; who wore most ridiculous *Vizards*, with monstrous gaping Mouths, within which they make a most horrid Bellowing, and

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THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxix

strut about in those odd kind of Shoes, I can't imagine how, without falling: this, if I mistake not, was at the Time, when you celebrated the *Festival of Bacchus*. Your *Comedians* were shorter, not mounted up so high, and more like Men; neither did they roar so loud: but their *Vizors* were more ridiculous, and set the whole Theatre a laughing. Whereas when those other tall Fellows appeared, the Audience listened to them with most dismal Faces, pitying them, as I suppose, for dragging after them those monstrous Shackles. *Solon*. It was not the Actors, good *Anacharxis*, whom they commiserated; the Poet in all likelihood had set before them some old melancholy Story, and put into the Mouths of his *Tragedians* some dolefull Speeches, by which all the Audience was moved to Tears. You observed, perhaps at the same Time, some People playing upon Flutes, and others standing in a Circle, and Singing; which Musick and Songs, *Anacharxis*, are by no means useless; for all these Things tend equally to whet and animate the Minds of our young Men, and make them better. As to our Manner of exercising their Bodies, which you seemed desirous of knowing, it is this: As soon as their Bodies are become a little compact and firm, we strip them naked, and accustom them in the first place to the open Air, familiarizing them with all Seasons, that they may neither grow uneasy or impatient with Heat, nor shrink and yield to the Extremity of Cold: After this we anoint and mollify them with *Oil*, to render them more supple; it being, in our Opinions, ridiculous to imagine that our Bodies, while they yet partake of Life, should receive no Benefit from the Oil, when Leather, that is nothing but a dead Hide, by being rubbed and softened with it, becomes more tough and durable. On the other hand, contriving various kinds of *Exercises*, and appointing Masters in each of them, we cause our young Men to learn, some of them the Exercise of the *Cassus*, others that of the *Pancratiun*, that they may be accustomed to endure Pain and Toil; to brave a Blow, and not turn their Backs for fear of be-

CLXX A DISSERTATION ON

ing wounded: whence there arise two very considerable Advantages, for in the first place our Youth by these means become more intrepid and bold in *Danger*, and less carefull of their Persons; and are in the next place rendered more healthy and vigorous. Those, who are instructed in the Exercise of *Wrestling*, learn from thence to fall without any Hurt, to rise nimbly, to push and grapple with their Adversaries, to twist and turn them, to squeeze them 'till they are almost strangled, and lift them from the Ground. Qualities, that without doubt have their Uses; the chief of which is, that their Bodies thus kept in continual Exercise become more robust and less liable to be injured. The second Advantage, and that no inconsiderable one, is, that being perfect and expert in these Matters, they will not be at a Loss, should they ever have Occasion to make use of them in War. For it is evident that such a Man, if he be grappled with his Enemy, will by his Skill in tripping more readily throw him down; or if he be fallen himself, will know how to rise again with great Ease and Celerity. For all these Exercises, *Anacharhis*, are established with a final View to that *Contest*, which is decided by the Sword; since through their means we flatter ourselves that we shall be supplied with better Soldiers, especially as by softening their naked Bodies, and inuring them to Labour, we not only make them healthier and stronger, but lighter also, and more lithe some to themselves, though heavier at the same Time and more unwieldy to their *Antagonists*. You guess by this Time, I don't question, what Sort of Fellows they are like to prove in Arms, who even naked are wont to strike a Terror into their Enemies; whose Bodies are neither overloaded with Flesh, pallid and unactive, nor meagre, white, and livid, like those of Women, almost putrified by being kept always from the Air, shivering, apt with the least Motion to run down with Sweat, and panting beneath the Burthen of an Helmet, especially if the Sun shine hot, as he does at present, from the South. Fine Soldiers these for Service, who can neither endure

Drought

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxxi

Drought nor Dust ; whom the Sight of Blood throws into Disorder ; and who die away with Fear before they come within the Reach of a Spear, or feel the Sword of the Enemy ! whereas our tawny, Sun-burnt, hard-favoured Youth, that seem full of Spirit, vital Heat, and manly Vigour, have their Bodies in such proper Order, as on the one hand to be neither dry nor shrivelled, nor too stuffed or heavy on the other ; but keeping them within due Limits they waste away, by sweating, all superfluous and useless Flesh, and strenuously preserve, without the Mixture of any Unsoundness, whatever conduces to render them strong and active. For these Exercises operate upon our Bodies like a Winnowing-Fan upon Corn ; blowing away the Chaff and Straw, and separating, cleaning, and heaping up the Grain ; the Consequence of which is, that they become healthy, and able to go through a great deal of Labour and Fatigue. Besides, that such a one is a long Time e'er he begin to sweat, and is seldom or never faint. For, to return once more to our Comparison of the Corn, let any one take Fire and cast it into the Grain, and into the Chaff and Straw, I dare say the latter would take fire much the soonest ; while the former would kindle by Degrees, neither producing any great Flame nor blazing up at once, but burning slowly and at Bottom, would be a considerable Time before it was all consumed : such a Constitution of Body, in like Manner attacked by any Toil or Sickness, would not be soon affected by it, or easily subdued : the inward Parts being all sound and in good Condition, and the outward so well fortified against all Attacks of that kind, as not easily to receive any Injury from the Assaults either of Cold or of the Sun himself. And as to their enduring Fatigue, a constant Stream of inward Warmth, collected as it were long before, and kept in Reserve against a necessary Occasion, furnishes them with a plentiful Supply of Spirit and Vigour, and renders them almost indefatigable : for their having previously inured themselves to Toil and Labour, increases instead of diminishing their Strength ; which

by being agitated, constantly grows the faster. Besides all this, we exercise our Youth in *Running*, accustoming them not only to hold out through a long Course, but to perform it with the utmost Expectation ; for which Purpose we endeavour to make them light and nimble. Neither are these *Races* performed upon hard or solid Ground, but in a deep Sand, which sliding away and yielding perpetually to the Tread, allows them no sure Footing, either to rise upon their Feet or to set them down firmly. They are exercised also in *leaping* over a Trench perhaps, or whatever happens to be in their Way ; in performing of which, they fill their Hands with great Pieces of *Lead* : after this they contend with each other in *Darting*, and trying who shall cast his Spear the farthest. You saw lying in the *Gymnasium* a Lump of Brass, circular and not unlike a small Shield, but without a Handle or Thong. You tried to take it up, and found it very weighty, and difficult to be laid hold of by reason of its Smoothness ; this they toss into the Air, and try who shall throw it to the greatest Distance, and surpass the rest of his *Competitors* ; and this Exercise not only strengthens the Shoulders, but gives a Spring and Vigour even to the extreme Parts. Now as to the *Mud* and *Sand*, which at first appeared to you so mighty ridiculous, you shall hear, *Anacharsis*, wherefore they are spread in the Place of Exercise. The first Reason is, that the *Competitors* may fall soft and without Danger ; who might hurt themselves by falling upon hard Ground. The next is, to promote that Slipperiness occasioned by a Mixture of *Mud* and Sweat, which made you liken them to Eels, and which is neither useless nor ridiculous, but exceedingly conducive, on the contrary, to render them strong and vigorous. For under these Circumstances they are necessitated to take a fast and firm Hold of one another, to prevent their slipping away ; and you must by no means think it an easy Matter to lift from the Ground a Man who is all over Oil, and Mud, and Sweat, by the Help of which he is constantly endeavouring to fall and glide away from your Em-

braces. All these Things, as I said before, are of use in War; whether it be necessary to take up speedily and bear out of the Battle a wounded Friend, or seize upon an Enemy and carry him off in your Arms: for this Reason the Exercises we propose to them, are always carried to an Excess; that, having been accustomed to harder Things, they may perform easier Matters with less Difficulty. The *Sand* we make use of for a quite different Purpose, namely, to take away the Slipperiness occasioned by the *Oil*; for as in the *Mud* they are practised to hold fast an Adversary, assisted by the Lubricity of his Body to escape; in the *Sand* they learn to get away, even when they are so strongly and so firmly held, that one would think it almost impossible to break loose. We receive also this farther Benefit from the *Sand*; for being thrown over our Bodies when they are in a Sweat, it not only prevents immoderate Perspiration, and by that means enables us to hold out the longer, but keeps us also from being injured by the Winds blowing upon us while our Pores are open; besides, it carries away with it all kind of Filth, and renders the Body more sleek and shining. And indeed I should be glad to set before you one of your white-skin'd Fellows, that has always lived under Cover, and any one of these, who have been bred here in the *Gymnasium*, washing off his *Mud* and *Sand*, and ask you which of the two you would wish to resemble. I am confident you would chuse at first Sight, without making any Experiment of the Deeds of either; you would chuse, I say, without a Moment's Hesitation, that compact and well-ordered Frame of Body, rather than that other delicate Complexion, softened and melting almost with Luxury and Cockering, and looking white, as well from the Scarcity of Blood, as from its retiring all to the inward Parts.

These, *Anacharsis*, are the Exercises in which we educate our Youth, and by the means of which we hope to make them strenuous Defenders of their Country; under whose Protection we ourselves may live in Liberty, get the better of our Enemies if they attack us, and

clxxiv A DISSERTATION ON

and become so formidable to our Neighbours round, that they may all stand in awe of us, and the greatest Part of them pay us Tribute. In Peace too we doubt not but to find them the better for our Instructions ; neither inclined to emulate one another in base and shamefull Actions, nor through the Want of Employment turning themselves to Riot and Debauch : these Exercises affording them continual Occupation, and filling up all the Vacancies both of their Thoughts and Time. And in this, *Anacharsis*, consists the publick Good and Happines of a State, to have its Youth perpetually busying themselves in usefull and commendable Employments, so as to be equally fitted and prepared either for Peace or War. *Ana.* Therefore, *Solon*, when your Enemies come to attack you, smearing yourselves over with *Oil* and *Sand*, you march forth in that Manner to assault them with your Fists ; and most certainly they have great Reason to be afraid and run away, lest, as they stand gaping, you may chance to fill their Mouths with *Sand* ; or jumping round them you may get upon their Backs, and then twisting your Legs about their Bellies, choke them with placing your Elbows upon their Throats underneath their Helmets. And supposing they should, as they will undoubtedly, attack you with their Bows and Spears, those Weapons can have no more Effect upon you, than upon so many Statues, because of your being so burnt and hardened in the Sun, and so abounding with Blood. For being neither Chaff nor Straw, you will not be soon susceptible of a Wound ; and if you should, after a considerable Time and with much Difficulty, be wounded, it must be a deep and grievous Gash indeed, that draws a little, and but a little Blood upon you. This, I think, is what you say, unless I entirely mistake your Argument. Or perhaps upon such an Occasion, you will arm yourselves with all the Equipage of your *Tragedians* and *Comedians* ; and, if you go forth to Battle, put on their grinning *Head-Pieces*, to make yourselves terrible to your Enemies, and scare them with your frightfull Faces. And pray don't forget those same

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxxv

high-heeled *Buskins*, which will prove very light for you, should you have Occasion so run away. Or if you are in Pursuit of the Enemy, it will be impossible for them to escape you, coming after them with such mighty Strides. Consider then, *Solon*, whether all these pretty Things be not trifling Amusements, fit only for such young Fellows as love Idleness, and have nothing better to do. To be really free and happy, you stand in need of other kinds of Schools, and of the only true Exercise, that of Arms. Neither must this Contest be carried on in Sport with one another, but with an Enemy, where Danger may teach you Courage. Wherefore laying aside your *Oil* and *Sand*, instruct your young Men in the Management of their Bows and Javelins : not putting into their Hands such light Darts, as are to be carried away with every Puff of Wind ; but a weighty Spear, that whizzes as it flies, or a Stone that is as much as they can lift ; and a Sword, a Target on their left Arms, a Breast-plate, and a Helmet. As you now are, your Safety seems to me owing to the Favour of some God, who has saved you hitherto from perishing by the Attack of a few light-armed Soldiers. Should I now draw the little Sword that I carry here at my Girdle, and singly fall upon all your young Fellows there, I leave you to guess whether I could not make myself Master of the *Gymnasium*, merely by shouting, while they would all scamper away, not one of them daring to look upon a naked Sword ; and I in the mean Time should die with laughing, to see them creeping round the Statues, hiding behind the Pillars, weeping and trembling. Their Bodies would not then appear so ruddy as you see them at present, but turn pale, and take a Tincture from their Fear. Such are the Effects of your profound Peace, that you cannot stand the Sight even of the Plume of an hostile Helmet. *Solon*. The *Thracians*, *Anacharsis*, who headed by *Eumolpus* made War upon us, and those *Amazonian* Horse of yours, who under the Conduct of *Hippolita* attacked our City, and all those other People who have tried us in
the

clxxvi A DISSERTATION ON

the Field, never spoke of us in this Manner : neither, my good Friend, ought you to have imagined that we go out unarmed to Battle, because our Youth perform their Exercises naked, in which as soon as they are perfect we teach them the Management of their Arms ; and they handle them, I can assure you, not a whit the worse for having learnt the other. *Ana.* And where, I pray you, is the School in which you teach the Exercise of Arms ? for I have seen nothing like it in the City, though I have been all over it. *Solon.* But

if you continue among us for any Time, *Anacharsis*, you will find that every Man is well furnished with Arms, which we make use of when there is Occasion, as well Helmets as Caparisons and Horses, and Horsemen too ; almost one fourth Part of the Citizens consisting of Horsemen. Though we think it needless in Time of Peace always to carry Arms and wear a Sword. On the contrary, whoever is discovered with Arms, either in the City or in the Assemblies of the People, is liable to be fined. You *Scythians* indeed are to be excused for going always armed, considering that you not only dwell in an open Country, in which you are perpetually exposed to sudden Invasions and Surprizes, but are constantly at War with one another. An Enemy, before you are aware, may fall upon you in your Sleep, drag you out of your Waggon, and cut your Throats. Thus your mutual Distrust of one another, and your not living together under any certain Laws or Government, makes it necessary for you always to carry Arms, that they may always be in a Readiness to defend you in case of an Attack. *Ana.* You deem it therefore, *Solon*, quite needless to wear a Sword when there is no Occasion, and are for saving your Arms lest they should be spoiled by handling ; for which Reason you lay them up carefully 'till you want to use them : and yet, without being compelled to it by any urgent Reason, you exercise and batter the Bodies of your young Men, exhaust them with continual Sweatings, and prodigally pour into the *Dirt* and *Sand* that Strength, which
you

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxxvii

you ought to husband and reserve against a necessary Occasion.

Solon. You seem, *Anacharsis*, to consider bodily Strength in the same Light as you do Wine, or Water, or any other Liquid ; and to be afraid, lest in the Agitation of these Exercises, it should leak out of the Vessel imperceptibly, and leave us nothing but a hollow, dry, and empty Body. But the Case is quite otherwise : the more you draw it off in Exercises, the faster it flows in ; according to the Fable of the *Hydra* (if you have ever heard it) who in the room of one Head that had been cut off, had always two others immediately sprouting up. A Body indeed never injured by Labour, nor braced by Exercise, and that has not a sufficient Strength of Constitution, would quickly be impaired and destroyed by Toil. Between which and the former there is the same Difference as between a Fire and a Lamp ; the former is kindled and increased, and set into a Blaze, by the same Blast of Wind by which the latter, for want of being sustained by a due Supply of Fuel, is soon extinguished. *Ana.* I do not rightly understand you, *Solon* ; your Arguments are too subtle, and require a more accurate Attention, and a sharper Penetration than I am Master of. But this I would fain know, what is the Reason that in the *Olympick*, *Isthmian*, *Pythian*, and your other *Games*, at which, you tell me, there is always a great Concourse of People to see the Youth perform their *Exercises*, you never have a Combat of armed Men ; but bring them there naked, for the Spectators to see them kicked and cuffed about, and then to the Conqueror you give a Branch of *Laurel* or *Wild Olive*. The Reason why you do this is certainly worth knowing. *Solon.* We imagine, *Anacharsis*, that they will apply themselves with more Eagerness to their *Gymnastick Exercises*, if they see those who excel in them honoured upon these Occasions, and proclaimed *Conquerors* in the Presence of all *Greece*. For the same Reason, as they appear there naked, they take care, that they may not be disgraced, to have their Bodies in good Order, and to render themselves in all Respects worthy of the *Victory* : neither are the Prizes, as I said before, mean and trifling ;

clxxviii A DISSERTATION ON

trifling: To be applauded by all the Spectators, to be distinguished and pointed out, as a Man that has proved himself the best among all the Youth his Rivals, is surely no inconsiderable Reward. Hence also many of the Spectators, who are of an Age proper for these *Exercises*, and whose Hearts are not a little animated with these Things, return home enamoured of Toil and Virtue. And indeed, *Anacharsis*, if you take out of human Life the Love of Glory, what Virtue can a Man expect to find, or who will be fond of performing any splendid Action? And now you may be able to form some Judgment to yourself, what sort of Men they are like to prove in Arms, and fighting for their Country, their Wives, their Children, and their Gods, who for the Sake of an *Olive* or a *Laurel Crown* contend even naked with so much Eagerness for the Victory. What would you say, if you beheld the Battles of our *Quails*, and our Fighting *Cocks*, and the no small Earnestness with which we attend to them. You would laugh most assuredly, especially when you were informed, that we do this in Obedience to a Law, by which all our Youth are ordered to be present, and to view these little Birds maintaining the Battle to their latest Gasps. Neither is it ridiculous, considering that in the mean while there steals imperceptibly into our Hearts a certain Promptitude to face Danger, that we may not shew ourselves less generous and less intrepid than Cocks, and yield the Victory through an Inability to bear Wounds, and Toil, and Hardships. But far be it from us to make Trial of our Youth in Arms, and see them wounding one another! for, besides that it is barbarous and savage, it would be very ill Husbandry indeed to massacre thus in Sport our best Men, whose Valour might better be employed against an Enemy. But since you tell me, *Anacharsis*, that you intend to travel over all *Greece*, remember when you come to *Lacedæmon*, not to laugh at the *Spartans*, nor conclude that they are labouring in vain, when you behold them in the Theatre fighting and banging one another for a *Ball*, or in a Place encompassed on all Sides with Water, dividing themselves into two Battalions and attacking each other

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxxix

naked, till either the *Troops of Hercules* or those of *Lycurgus* (for so those two Battalions are called) drive the other out of the Inclosure, or force them into the Water. After which there is Peace between them, and no Man strikes a Blow. But more particularly have a Care of laughing, when you see the Children whipt at the Altar, and streaming down with Blood, their Fathers and their Mothers being present all the while, and, instead of grieving at such a Sight, urging their Children with Threats to bear the Lashes, beseeching them to hold out as long as possible against the Pain, and endure their Miseries with Courage. And indeed many have died under the Trial, disdaining to give out in the Presence of their Relations while they had any Life left, and to shew any Weakness for their Bodies. And in Honour of these have the *Spartans* erected Statues at the publick Charge. Wherefore, when you see all this, conclude not that they are mad, nor say that without any Necessity they torment themselves, not compelled to it either by a tyrannical Master or an Enemy. *Lycurgus*, their Legislator, could without doubt have given many good Reasons, why he chose to afflict them in this Manner, having no Intentions, either as an Enemy or out of Ill-will, to waste and consume their Youth. His Design on the contrary was to render those, upon whom was to depend the Safety of their Country, as hardy and brave as possible, and superior to all kinds of Evil. And certainly you yourself may well imagine, without being told it by *Lycurgus*, that such a *Spartan*, if he should happen to be taken by the Enemy in War, would never, for the Apprehension of the Lash, divulge the Secrets of his Country; but smiling would endure the Torture, and strive with the Executioner which should be first tired. *Ana.* Pray, *Solon*, was *Lycurgus* himself scourged in his younger Days, or did he produce these pretty youthfull Inventions of his at an Age, that excluded him from undergoing them himself? *Solon.* He framed his Laws in his old Age, after his Return from *Crete*, where he had resided for a considerable Time, having heard that the *Cretans* were governed by excellent Laws, given them by *Minos* the Son of *Jupiter*.

CLXXX A DISSERTATION ON

Ana. Why then, *Solon*, do not you follow the Example of *Lycurgus*, and scourge your Youth? for these are wholesome Things, and worthy your Imitation. *Solon.* Because, *Anacharsis*, the Exercises

we have, are sufficient for our Purpose, and of our own Growth; and we do not think fit to borrow from Strangers. *Ana.* That is not

the Reason; the Truth is, you are sensible what it is to be scourged naked, with your Hands raised up above your Head, and that without any Benefit accruing from it, either to yourself or your Country.

Wherefore if I should happen to be at *Sparta*, at the Time of their performing these Disciplines, the People, I doubt, will immediately knock me on the Head for laughing at those Fools, who suffer themselves to be whipt like a Parcel of Knaves and Thieves. And to say Truth, a Government that can allow of such ridiculous Things, stands in need of a good Dose of *Hellebore*. *Solon.* Think not, however, my good Friend, because you plead without an Adversary, of prevailing against them in their Absence, and condemning them unheard. You will find Men in *Sparta* able to reply to your Objections, and give you a reasonable Account of their Proceedings. But since I

have gone through, at your Request, many of our Customs, which however you seem not entirely to approve, it cannot sure be thought unreasonable, if I desire you, in return, to explain to me the Manner, in which you *Scythians* exercise your Youth; what Schools you have for their Education, and how you make them good and valiant Men.

Ana. Your Request, *Solon*, is very reasonable: you shall have an Account of our *Scythian* Customs, plain and simple ones, perhaps, and very much differing from yours; for we do not so much as strike a Man a Blow upon the Face, such Cowards are we. But be they as they will, you shall hear them. If you please, however, we will adjourn our Conversation 'till To-morrow, that I may not only think at leisure upon what you have said, but muster up in my own Mind all I have to say to you. For the present let us finish here, for it grows towards Evening.



FROM

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxxi

FROM what is set forth under the Character of *Solon* in the preceding Dialogue, the Reader may perceive with what View the Founders of the *Olympick Games* proposed their *Olive Chaplet* as a Reward to those, who excelled in any of the *Gymnastick Exercises*. How well they were seconded by the Legislators and Governors of the several States of *Greece*, may be collected from the great Honours, Privileges, and Immunities bestowed on the *sacred Conquerors* in their respective Countries; all which demonstrate the high Opinion entertained by all the *Grecians* of the Utility of the *Gymnastick Exercises*. Of this *Plato* himself was so sensible, that he delivers it as his Opinion, that every well constituted Republick ought, by offering *Prizes* to the *Conquerors*, to encourage all such Exercises as tend to increase the *Strength* and *Agility* of the Body, as highly usefull in War. That such was the general Tendency of the *Gymnastick Exercises* will easily be admitted; and that the two Qualities just mentioned were very proper to be cultivated in a Soldier, will, I believe, as easily be allowed by those, who consider the Manner of Fighting practised among the *Grecians*. Their Armies for many Ages consisted chiefly, if not wholly, of Infantry; Cavalry, either from the great Scarcity of Horses, or from their Ignorance in managing them, having been late introduced among them, as I have before observed. Their Arms were Swords and Spears, Bows and Slings being not of general Use. Hence in all their Battles the two Armies came always to a close Engagement, in which Strength and Agility of Body could not but be greatly servicable to every Soldier in particular, and to the whole Army in general, as well for Offence and Defence, as for other Purposes; such as seizing on an Enemy, or bearing off a wounded Friend, expressly taken Notice of in the Dialogue of *Lucian*. This whole Matter is set in its proper Light by *Plutarch*, in his *Symposiacks* 3, or *Table Talk*;

3 L. ii. *Quæst.* 5.

where

clxxxii A DISSERTATION ON

where, in Answer to the Question, Which was the most ancient of the *Gymnastick Exercises*? started by some of the Company, he observes, that as they were all originally copied from what was practised in War, and intended to prepare and fit Men for it, it is to be concluded that *Boxing* was the first, *Wrestling* the second, and *Running* the last: since in a Battle the first Business of a Soldier is to *strike* and *ward*; the next, when the Armies come to a closer Engagement, and fight Hand to Hand, is to *push* and *throw down* the Enemy; the last to *pursue* or *fly*. And he tells us at the same time, that the *Thebans* were said to have been indebted to their superior Skill and Practice in the Art of *Wrestling*, for the famous Victory obtained by them over the *Lacedæmonians* at *Leuctra*. An Exercise in which, as we learn from another Passage in the same Author⁴, *Epaninondas*, as soon as he conceived the generous Design of freeing his Country from the Tyranny of *Sparta*, took care to have his Fellow-Citizens well instructed, frequently matching them with *Spartans*, and taking occasion from their Victories in the *Gymnasium*, to encourage them not to dread those Adversaries in the Field, whom they had found to be so much inferior to them in Strength.

The *Greeks*, as I have said, were distributed into several petty independent States, whose Strength and Security depended wholly upon the Number of Men, which, upon Occasion, they were able to bring into the Field. The principal Object therefore of every Government, was to make that Number as large as possible. To this End, as no one was exempted from serving his Country in War, every Man of free Condition (for Slaves were not admitted into their Armies unless on very extraordinary Emergencies) from the highest to the lowest, was from his Youth trained up in such a Manner, as by them was judged most conducive to that Purpose; that is, in learning and practising the *Gymnastick Exercises*: by which, though they were not directly instructed in the Management of their Arms, yet they were inured to

⁴ In Pelopida.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxxxiii

Toil, and rendered hardy, healthy, vigorous, and active : *Qualities*, which however little regarded among us at present, were by the wisest Men among the *Grecians* esteemed absolutely necessary in a Soldier. And indeed this Attention to the rendering the Bodies of their Citizens healthy and robust, was by some of them carried even to a vicious Excess ; so far as to lead them to neglect or overlook some other Matters, of at least equal, if not superior Importance to a well constituted Government : Instances of which might easily be produced from the famous *Institutions of Lycurgus*, and even from the no less famous *Commonwealth of Plato* : in both which many Absurdities, Indecencies, and Immoralities, even of a very heinous Nature, were allowed of, merely for the sake of furnishing the State with a Race of strong and healthy Citizens.

But in pursuing this Point of the *Gymnastick Exercises*, esteemed so beneficial to the Publick, and for that Reason so cultivated and encouraged in all the *Great Games of Greece*, as well as in those celebrated in every State and City, the *Grecians* at length fell into an Error, into which many States and Communities, as well as private People, both before and since have fallen, even in Matters of more serious Concernment. They came to mistake the *Means* for the *End*. For by over-rating the *Victories* obtained in the *Gymnastick Exercises*, and rewarding the *Conquerors* with greater Honours than were in Reason due to them, they in Time caused those *Victories* to be considered, by the Multitude at least, as the final Objects of their Ambition. Whence it came to pass, that Numbers among them, instead of being made good *Soldiers*, became only eminent *Athletes* ; and that Course of Education, which was set on Foot with a View of making every Man usefull to his Country, tended to render many not only useless on those Occasions, in which the Exigencies of the Commonwealth might require the Assistance of all its Members, but even burthenesome to the Publick : every City being, if not by Law, at least by a Custom grown in length of Time equivalent

clxxxiv A DISSERTATION ON

lent to a Law, obliged to maintain the *Gymnastick Conquerors* for the rest of their Lives. But this was not the only, nor the heaviest Inconvenience that arose from the too great Encouragement given to the *Athletes* : by which Term I understand those who followed and practised the *Gymnastick Exercises* as a *Science* and *Profession* : An Abuse which began in *Greece* a little before the Times of *Plato*, as we learn from *Galen*⁵, who every where inveighs most bitterly against it : inasmuch that he will not allow the *Athletick*⁶ Art a Place among those which are styled *liberal*, and even refuses it the honourable Title of *Gymnastick* ; a Title in which some People affected to dress it out. The Reasons of the Indignation, which this learned Physician expresses against the *Athletes*, are principally founded on the pernicious Effects of the Regimen observed by them, many of which he enumerates ; and concludes all with saying, that Mankind ought to hate and detest a *Profession*, the Excellency of which consists only in disordering the natural Constitution of the Body, and ruining that kind of Strength and Vigour, which qualifies a Man to be useful to his Country, by introducing one of another kind, which can only tend to make him a Burthen to it. He adds, that upon many Occasions he had found himself a great deal stronger than some *Athletes* of Eminence, who had gained *several* Prizes ; this sort of Men, continues he, not being fit to undergo either the Fatigues of Travelling or those of War, and still less proper for civil Employments or the Toils of Agriculture : in short, neither good for Counsel nor Execution.

Euripides in one of his *Satyrical Pieces*, a Fragment of which is preserved by *Athenæus*⁷, speaks of the *Athletes* with the same Virulence and Contempt : and *Plutarch* compares them to the Pillars of a *Gymnasium*, as well for the Qualities of their Minds, as for those of their Bodies ; and in one Place⁸ he confesses, that nothing had so

⁵ Ad Thrasylbul. c. 33.

⁶ See Monf. Burette's 1 Mem. sur les Athletes.
⁷ Deip. L. x. c. 2.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxxxv

much contributed to the Effeminacy and Servility of the *Greeks* as this Abuse of the *Gymnastick Exercises*, which had rendered them unfit for military Duty, and had caused them to prefer the Qualities of an excellent *Athlete* to those of a good Soldier.

But I must here repeat what I hinted at in another Place, on occasion of a Passage there cited from the same Author, in his Life of *Philopemen*, that this heavy Charge against the *Athletes* falls with the greatest Weight upon those, who exercised themselves in the *Cæstus* and *Pancræatium*, their *Regimen* being the most liable to all the pernicious Consequences enumerated by *Galen*, and the most opposite to that of a Soldier.

But without taking into the Account all the Inconveniences just now insisted on, in many of which the *Athletes* were joint Sufferers with the State, it was certainly a considerable Prejudice to the Publick, to have any Number of Men called off from their own Occupations and Affairs, from all Duties Civil and Military, from Commerce and Agriculture, not to mention the Study of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, to the Practice of a *Profession*, in which, to arrive at any Perfection, they must consume their Youth, their Health, and Fortune, and become chargeable to their Friends and Country, (over which, says *Laertius*?, they seem by their Victories to triumph, rather than over their Antagonists) and by which they contributed to the lowering the Value of a *Crown*, originally intended for the Encouragement of those only, who by the same Qualities, which entitled them to it, were rendered serviceable to their Country: a Crown, for the obtaining of which, however glorious and sacred, a Man of a noble and ingenuous Spirit might well disdain to enter the Lists with a professed *Prize-Fighter*. And by these means were all the salutary Views of those, who first instituted the *Publick Games*, in great measure disappointed; and the Benefits naturally growing out of a proper and moderate Use of the *Gymnastick Exercises*,

⁹ In Solon.

CLXXXVI A DISSERTATION ON

cises, converted into Mischiefs by the intemperate and short-sighted Folly of the *Greeks*; who, to borrow a Metaphor from *Pindar*, neglecting the Mark, and aiming to throw their Arrow too far, over-strained and broke the Bow. An Evil, which seems to have been foreseen and provided against by *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, the wise Lawgivers of their two greatest *Commonwealths*, *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*. The former of whom, by limiting the Reward of an *Olympick Conqueror* to no very considerable Sum, endeavoured to check the immoderate Ardour of his Countrymen for the *Gymnastick Exercises*; and the latter not only forbade his *Spartans* to contend in the *Cæstus* and *Pancratiûm*, but by rewarding a Victory in the *Olympick Games* with a military Post of Honour, made it necessary for those, who aspired to the *Olive Crown*, to qualify themselves for obtaining it in such a Manner, as might render them at the same Time worthy of the honourable Rank annexed to it.

These Abuses however did not grow up all at once; and probably did not arrive at the vicious Excess above described, 'till the *Greeks*, having been first subdued by the *Macedonians*, and afterwards by the *Romans*, lost together with their Liberty every Sentiment of true Virtue and Glory; and having no worthier an Object than one of the *Four sacred Crowns* left them to contend for, turned all their Ambition and Application to the obtaining an Honour, which in the most flourishing Periods of *Grecian* Liberty and Glory had ever been regarded with the highest Esteem and Veneration.

But be that as it will, it is evident from the Authorities above-cited, and the Reasons before given, that the *Gymnastick Exercises* were for many Ages considered as beneficial to the Publick; and so undoubtedly they were, while they were kept within due Bounds, and directed to the Purposes for which they were originally intended; in which Point of View all political Institutions, Systems of Religion and Government, and the prevailing Customs and Manners of any People, ought principally to be considered by every one, who

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxxxvii

is desirous of searching out their original Causes, and drawing any Advantages from the Wisdom of remote Ages and distant Countries ; the Abuses in any of these being generally to be charged upon the Ignorance or Corruption of After-times ; and never to be urged as Arguments against the proper *Use*, for the sake of which they were at first received, and afterwards continued and maintained.

I shall therefore now proceed to point out some farther Advantages of a *Civil Nature*, arising from the *Gymnastick Exercises* ; one of which was hinted at in the preceding Dialogue. This is the *Employment* furnished by their means to the *Idle* of all Ages and Conditions. By the *Idle* I do not mean the Indolent and Slothfull, but those who, either on account of their Youth, or for other Reasons, were not engaged in the Service of the State ; those, whom a competent Supply of all the Necessaries of Life exempted from Labour and Business ; and those whose Occupations allowed them any considerable Portion of vacant Time. Such Citizens, and of such there is always too large a Number in every populous and wealthy Community, are always dangerous to the Peace and Order of a Commonwealth ; which, merely for want of something to do, they are too apt to disturb and break by riotous and factious Enormities. To these the *Gymnasiums*, or *Schools of Exercise*, erected in every City, and furnished with Masters, &c. at the publick Cost, were always open ; and thither they were encouraged and invited to resort, not only from the Influence of a prevailing Fashion, which had made the learning the *Gymnastick Exercises* a part even of a Liberal Education, or the Hopes of attaining one Day to the great Honours and Rewards bestowed upon the *Conquerors* in the *sacred Games*, but even upon the Score of Amusement and Health ; there being many Exercises taught and practised in those *Schools*, which, though not admitted into the publick *Games*, were nevertheless of great and frequent Use, and tended equally with those, of which I have been hitherto speaking, to render the Bodies of the Practitioners healthy,

clxxviii A DISSERTATION ON

vigorous, and active. These were the several kinds of *Dances*; some or other of which were constantly introduced on all Occasions of Festivity, private and publick, as Marriages, Religious Festivals, &c. and were performed by a *Chorus*, consisting of a certain Number of Citizens. Those calculated principally for Amusement were several *Sports*, performed with *Balls* of different Sizes. Of all which, comprehended likewise under the general Name of *Gymnastic*, the curious Reader may find a particular Account in three Pieces written by Monf. Burette, and printed in the 2d Volume of *Memoires de Literature de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions*, &c. Of these several Exercises the Physicians likewise took Advantage, frequently prescribing one or other of them to their Patients, in such Proportions as their different Cases required; as may be seen in *Mercurialis*, and others. The Uses indeed last-mentioned were only collateral, neither proceeding by direct Consequence from the *Games*, nor immediately relating to them. But as the *Gymnastick Exercises* owed the great Vogue and Reputation which they acquired, principally to the *Olympick Games*, and the other *Three Institutions* of the same kind; and as the *Gymnasiums*, with all their Apparatus of Masters of several Sorts, Baths hot and cold, open and covered Places for Exercise, &c. were originally founded and maintained, with a View of preparing the *Ascetics* for those *Games*, we may very fairly place to their Account all the Profit accruing to the Publick from every Species of the *Gymnastick Exercises*, and from all the various Uses of the *Gymnasium*: which latter may be considered as a kind of *State Hospital*, where that great Branch of Physick called *Prophylactic*, or *Preventive*, so much cultivated by the Ancients, though entirely neglected by the Moderns, was practised with great Success on all the Members that compose the *Body Politick*; which, by the Regimen there prescribed, not only found its natural Health, Vigour, and Spirits fortified and augmented, but was kept from falling into many dangerous Maladies proceeding from Idleness and

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. clxxxix

Luxury, those morbid Principles of political, as well as natural Corruption and Dissolution.

And this leads me to consider another Point of no small Importance; namely, the *Temperance* and *Sobriety*, which all, who aimed at any eminent Proficiency in the *Gymnastick Exercises*, were necessitated to observe. This is taken notice of by *Horace* in these Verses,

*Qui sudet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fectique puer; sudavit, & alit;
Abstulit venere & vino*¹⁰.

A Youth, who hopes th' *Olympick* Prize to gain,
All Arts must try, and ev'ry Toil sustain;
Th' Extreams of Heat and Cold must often prove,
And shun the weak'ning Joys of Wine and Love.

FRANCIS.

And to this *St. Paul* alludes, in his First Epistle to the *Corinthians* " (in whose Territory, and under whose Direction. the *Isthmian Games* were celebrated) in the following Passage: " *Know ye not that they,*
" *who run in the Stadium, or Foot-Race, run all, and yet but one*
" *receiveth the Prize? so run therefore, that ye may obtain. Moreover,*
" *every one that contendeth in the Games (πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνίζωνος)* is
" *temperate in all Things. They indeed, that they may obtain a cor-*
" *ruptible Crown; but we, an incorruptible. Wherefore I for my part*
" *so run, as not to pass undistinguished*¹² (ὡς ἢ ἀδύλας) *so fight*
" *(πυκνέω) not as beating the Air* (i. e. practising in a feigned Com-

¹⁰ Art. Poet. v. 412.

¹¹ C. ix. v. 25.

¹² ὡς ἢ ἀδύλας may also signify in this Place, as if I was not *unseen*, not *unobserved*, i. e. as if I was in the Presence of

the Judge of the Games, and of a great Number of Spectators. But this, as well as other Parts of my Translation of this Passage, I submit to the more learned Reader.

" but,

CXC A DISSERTATION ON

“bat, without an Adversary) *but I bruise and mortify my Body*
 “(*ὑπὸ πταίῳ*) and bring it under Subjection, *lest after having served as*
 “a Herald (*κηρύξας*) to others (by introducing them into the Christ-
 “ian Stadium) *I myself should come off without Honour and Appro-*
 “bation (*ἀδόκιμος γένημαι*).” Though there are but two Expres-
 sions in this Passage that relate to the Point in Question, yet I thought
 proper to translate the whole, that I might shew and explain the
 several Allusions to the Games, here made use of by St. Paul; and
 make the Reader understand the full Force of the Argument urged
 by him upon the Corinthian Converts, to incite them to the Practice
 of those Virtues, which (he tells them) would be rewarded with a
Crown of everlasting Glory; and which, for the sake of a fading and
 perishable *Crown*, were practised by their unbelieving Brethren.

To what a Degree of Strictness these latter carried their Temper-
 ance and Continency of all kinds, with regard especially to the two
 Pleasures mentioned by Horace, *Women and Wine*, may be seen in
 many Instances collected by Faber¹³, to whom I refer the Reader:
 and how much those Virtues may be supposed to have contributed
 to the Health and Vigour of their Bodies (to say nothing of their
 Minds) may easily be conjectured, from the wretched and deplorable
 Effects occasioned by their contrary Vices; of which every one’s
 Experience cannot fail of suggesting to him but too many Examples
 among People of all Ranks and Conditions in this debauched and
 luxurious Age.

But as this strict Temperance was necessary only to those, who
 were ambitious of excelling in the *Gymnastick Exercises*, so it may
 be imagined to have been observed by a very small Number; but if
 it be remembered, that besides the *Four Sacred Games* so often men-
 tioned, there were others, almost innumerable, of the same Nature,
 celebrated in every *Grecian Town and City*, in which the *Prizes*
 were some of them lucrative, and all of them honourable, it may on

¹³ Agon. L. iii. c. 4.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxcī

the contrary be presumed, that the Number of those, who aspired to the Honour of a Victory in any of these *Games*, were pretty considerable ; especially before the *Athletick* Art came to be embraced and followed as a *Profession* : consequently many People in every *Grecian* State were for many Ages kept sober, temperate, and chaste, at least to a certain Degree, by the meer Influence of an Ambition ; which through the Encouragement of the Publick, and by the various Means of gratifying it offered to People even of the lowest Condition, may not unreasonably be supposed to have been almost universal : and this could hardly fail of rendering those Virtues fashionable, and thereby recommending them to the Practice of all those, who seek for no other Rule of Life but the Example of others. It may not indeed be easy, at this Distance of Time, exactly to determine how far this Influence operated ; and I may perhaps be thought, by some People, to have given it a larger Sphere of Action, than either Reason or History will justify. All therefore that I shall at present insist upon is, that the *Gymnastick Exercises*, from the several Causes above assigned, must have had a considerable Effect upon the Manners and Morals of the *Greeks*, in proportion to the Degree of Extensiveness and Care, with which they were cultivated and encouraged.

As a farther Discouragement to Vice and Immorality, the Reader may be pleased to recollect, that no one, who was guilty of any flagrant or notorious Crime, or was depraved in his Morals, could be admitted to contend for the *Olympick Crown*, however otherwise well qualified to obtain it. To this End every *Candidate*, at the Opening of the *Games*, was conducted along the *Stadium* by a *Herald*, who with a loud Voice demanded, whether there was any Person in all that numerous Assembly, who could accuse such a one (naming his Name, &c.) of any Crime ? or charge him with leading a profligate and vicious Life ? Neither was it sufficient for the *Candidate* himself to have a Character free from any gross and scandalous Imputation,

putation, unless he could also in some particular Points clear those of his Parents and Ancestors, by shewing there was no *Baslardy* nor *Adultery* in his Lineage, as I have observed in a former Section. The Sanctity of the *Olympick Games*, considered as a Religious Festival, undoubtedly gave Occasion to this strict Inquiry into the Characters of those who were admitted to contend in them : and in this Particular, as in many others, it is probable the Example set by the *Eleans*, was followed by the Superintendants of the *Pythian*, *Isthmian*, and *Nemean Games*, all which were esteemed in like manner *sacred*. And so indeed were all the *Games*, those at least that were celebrated at certain and stated Periods, throughout *Greece* ; of which the Number was very considerable, though the Title of *sacred* seems to have been appropriated by way of Eminence to the *Four* above-mentioned. Now, if it be supposed (and I see no Reason why it may not be supposed) that every Man of an infamous and vicious Character was, upon that account, excluded as a *profane* Person, from contending in any of these *Games*, the greatest Part of which were founded in Religion, it must be allowed that these *Institutions* could not but have checked in some Degree, and for some Time, the Growth of Vice and Immorality among the *Grecians* ; Weeds so natural to the human Soil, that it requires the greatest Attention, and the utmost Force of Culture, that is, not only good Laws, but a strict and diligent Execution of those Laws, to keep them under. The Laws of the *Olympick Institution* were good, by which I mean, were calculated for the Service of the Publick. And if they failed of their proper Effects for want of having been duly executed, we are not to regard and censure them as useless, till we can find a Country or a Society, in which the Administration of the Laws comes up to the Intention of the Legislator.

I have here purposely omitted saying any Thing of the *Equestrian Games*, having in those Sections, which treat of the *Horse-Races*, endeavoured to point out the *Utility* of that Part of the *Olympick Institution*,

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxciii

tution, by shewing that it was intended to encourage the *Breed and Management of Horses*; of which noble and usefull Animal there was for many Ages a great Scarcity in *Greece*. What Success it met with may in some measure be collected from some Instances produced above, of the great Number of *Chariots* contending at one Time in the *Olympick Hippodrome*. Whether the *Equestrian Candidates* were subjected to the publick Inquiry into their Characters, mentioned above, I cannot positively say; though I think it most probable that they were: since the Reasons taken from the Sanctity of that Religious Festival affect *them* equally with the *Gymnastick Candidates*. But this Point I shall leave with the Reader; and now, having shewn how much Vice in general, as well as what particular Species of it, was checked and discountenanced by the *Gymnastick Exercises*, and by *some* Laws of the *Olympick Institution*, I shall proceed to point out what Virtues, or what Principles of Virtue, were encouraged and inculcated by *others*. In enumerating these, I shall pass over such as properly belong to the *Gymnastick Exercises*, and of which sufficient Notice hath been already taken, such as Temperance, Fortitude, Patience, &c. and confine myself to speak of those only, which have an immediate Reference to the *Olympick Games*.

The first and most obvious of these is the *Love of Glory*, which (to use the Words of *Solon* in the foregoing *Dialogue*) *if you take away out of human Life, what Virtue shall we have left among us? and who will be ambitious of performing any splendid Action?* How powerfull an Incentive the *Love of Glory* is to all generous and noble Deeds, is sensibly experienced by great and ingenuous Minds; and may easily be evinced by numberless Instances in the ancient Histories of the *Greeks* and *Romans*: among whom, as Glory was the principal, if not the sole Reward of all Virtue, Civil as well as Military, so was the Sense and Love of Glory perpetually stimulated and inflamed in the Breasts of Men of all Orders and Degrees, by many

CXCIV A DISSERTATION ON

Marks of Honour bestowed on the Deserving; such as the several Military Crowns, Supplications, Ovations, Triumphs, Statues, Medals, &c. among the *Romans*: and among the *Grecians*, Statues, Inscriptions, Crowns, sometimes of Gold, with many other Testimonies of the Approbation and Gratitude of the Publick, differing according to the different Customs, or Genius, of each particular State. Of the same kind was the *Olympick Olive*, the *Pythian Laurel*, &c. which, having no intrinsic Value in themselves, could be of no Use to the *Conquerors*, but merely as Emblems and Evidences of their Victories, and as such entitling them to the Esteem and Applauses of their Countrymen. By the Meanness of these *Prizes*, therefore, were the *Grecians* given to understand, that Praise and Glory were the proper Recompences of worthy Actions. A Doctrine indeed which great and worthy Minds alone can perceive, by the inward Light of their own native Virtue; but which, by the Force of Education and Example, may be inculcated into narrow and groveling Spirits, 'till by Degrees it becomes the favourite Sentiment even of a whole People; and Men of all Ranks, Orders, and Professions, from the King to the lowest Servant, and the most inconsiderable Subject of the State, shall think themselves well paid for any Service done the Publick (and even the meanest in some Shape or other may be serviceable to the Publick) by any Mark of Honour bestowed upon them on that Account. A Recompence so cheap, and yet at the same Time so efficacious, and so productive of Excellencies of all kinds, that they, who neglect to make use of it in the Administration of a Commonwealth, may well be supposed to have no sense of it themselves; to know little of the true Arts and Ends of Government, and not to deserve to be entrusted with it.

I shall conclude this Article with a Passage from *Herodotus*¹⁴, who in his History of the famous Expedition of *Xerxes* against the *Grecians*, relates the following Incident, which happened when that

¹⁴ L. viii. c. 25.

mighty

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. CXCV

mighty King, attended by Millions, was now far advanced into Greece.

“ Some *Arcadian* Fugitives, being in great want of Provisions,
 “ came to offer their Services to the King, and being admitted into
 “ his Presence were interrogated by the *Persians*, and particularly
 “ by one Person; who, among other Questions, asked them, What
 “ the *Grecians* were then doing? To which they answered, that
 “ the *Greeks* were at that Time celebrating the *Olympick Festival*, and
 “ exhibiting a Spectacle of *Gymnastick* and *Equestrian Games*. Being
 “ again asked, What was the *Prize* for which the several *Antagonists*
 “ contended? they replied, *A Chaplet of wild Olive*. Upon
 “ which *Tigranes*, the Son of *Artabanus*, broke out into an Exclamation,
 “ which, though interpreted by the King as the Effect of
 “ Cowardice, was certainly an Indication of a brave and generous
 “ Mind. For hearing that the *Prize* contended for by the *Grecians*
 “ was a *Chaplet*, and not any pecuniary Reward, he could no longer
 “ keep silence, but in the hearing of all the *Persians* said, *Alas, Mar-*
 “ *donius! against what kind of Men have you led us here to fight!*
 “ *Men, who engage in a Contest with each other, not for Gold and Silver,*
 “ *but only for a Superiority of Virtue and Glory!*”

Another great Motive to virtuous and noble Actions, suggested to the *Candidates* for the *Olympick Olive*, and through them recommended to all the *Grecians*, was a due Regard to the Reputation of their Families and Countries. This was intimated by the Custom of joining to the Name of the *Candidate*, both before the *Contest* and after the *Victory*, the Name of his *Father*, together with that of the *City* or *Country* where he was born, or to which he at that Time belonged. By which Custom the close Union and Connexion, which Nature and Reason had made between a *Son* and *Father*, a *Citizen* and the *State*, was, as it were, ratified and declared by the Authority and Voice of the Publick; and every Man was taught to consider himself, not as a single and independent Individual, but as

making Part of a Family and Society ; to whom, as participating in some measure of his Glory or Disgrace, he was accountable for his good or bad Demeanour. That the Consideration just mentioned is capable of operating very powerfully, both in restraining Men from infamous Actions and exciting them to good, needs not here be proved. The Force of it is felt and understood by all, and frequently urged as a Topick either of Encouragement or Dehortation, even in common and ordinary Life ; in which, if it is of any Efficacy, as it often is, it ought surely to affect, in a much stronger manner, all Persons of a noble and illustrious Parentage, and all the Members of any City, Society, or Kingdom, that make a considerable Figure in the Eyes of Mankind, especially on great and publick Occasions : as in a Battle, for Instance, in which every Individual ought to remember, that the Honour of his Country, as well as his own in particular, that of his Family, or of the *Corps* to which he belongs, is interested in his Behaviour ; the Glory of a Victory, and the Disgrace of a Defeat, being generally placed to the Account of the whole Nation ; and the Valour or Cowardice of a People too often measured by that of their Troops, who in those Cases are looked upon as their Representatives.

There is also another Circumstance, in which a single Man, though not acting in any publick Character, may yet have it in his Power to do Honour or Discredit to his Country : and this is the Circumstance of a Man travelling into Foreign Nations ; where, though himself and his Family may happen both to be equally unknown, his Country may not. In this Case he will be considered only in a *national Light*, if I may so speak, and a general Character of his Countrymen will be formed, from the Specimen he is supposed to give of it in his particular Manners and Behaviour. In this Situation many of the *Candidates*, those especially who came from remote *Grecian* Colonies settled in *Asia*, *Africk*, *Macedonia*, *Sicily*, &c. must in some sort have appeared in the *Olympick Stadium* ;

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxcvii

dium ; which may be looked upon as a kind of *publick Theatre*, where every private *Grecian* might have an Opportunity of producing and signaling himself, and his own particular City, Town, and Family, in the Presence of all *Greece*. From whence, though neither of them should have gained any other immediate Advantage, besides that of being drawn out of Obscurity, and made known to the rest of their Brethren, yet a Foundation was here laid for many more ; a Spirit of Emulation, a Sense of Glory, and a Zeal for the Honour of the Publick, which is always increased by every new Accession of Reputation acquired to it, was infused into all the Members of the Community : who rejoicing with their Fellow-Citizen on these Occasions, and bestowing upon him publick Marks of Distinction, both felt and acknowledged at the same Time, that the Glory of any one Member redounded to the Credit of the whole Body ; and were thereby taught insensibly to regard, in all their Actions, the Dignity and Service of the State. A Principle, to which in conjunction with the *Love of Glory*, spoken to in the foregoing Article, may principally be ascribed all the Virtue, Valour, Wisdom, with many Excellencies of an inferior kind, which adorn and dignify the *Greek* and *Roman* Name. By both which People, but more generally by the former, were these two great Principles, so fruitfull in Merit of all Sorts, cultivated with the utmost Diligence and Care, and by many various Methods disseminated throughout all Orders and Professions of Men.

Concord and Union among themselves was also plainly insinuated, and strongly recommended to all the different People of *Greece*, by another Law of the *Olympick Games* ; that I mean, by which all, who were not of *Greek Extraction*, were excluded from contending in them. By this *Law* they were reminded of their being Brethren, and incorporated as it were into one Nation, under one common Name. Had due Attention been paid to this wise and politic Ordinance, under the Sanction of which they were invited to meet together

cxviii A DISSERTATION ON

gether every fifth Year, in order to join in sacrificing to one and the same Deity, the common Father and Protector of the whole *Grecian* Name; and in celebrating Games, in which all *Grecians*, and only *Grecians*, were equally admitted to contend, for a *Crown* equally revered by them all: to this Ordinance, I say, which may be considered as a sacred Band of Union, had due Attention been paid by the several States into which the *Grecians* were distributed, they need not have dreaded either the *Roman* Commonwealth or the *Persian* Monarchy: the latter of which was checked and humbled more than once, and at length entirely subdued by no very considerable Part of the *Grecian Body*; and the former prevailed over them more by means of the intestine Feuds and Divisions, which had for many Ages weakened and disjointed the Forces of *Greece*, than from their own intrinsic Strength, or from any Superiority either in Valour or in military Skill, which the *Romans* possessed over their *Grecian* Antagonists. But what avail the most salutary Laws, or the best framed Systems of Government, without a sufficient Authority to enforce the Execution of the one, and to keep together the several Parts of the other, to give each its proper Motion, and to make them all concur in one Operation, and mutually unite their Forces to strengthen and support the Common Cause? This was always wanting to the *Greeks*, who never but once, as I can remember, acted in Concert under the Direction of a single Person; and that was in their very early Times, when they lived not in Commonwealths, but under limited Monarchies, I mean in their Expedition against the City of *Troy*, under *Agamemnon*, who seems to have been invested with no other Powers, but such as were barely necessary for the General of an Army; and to have been raised to that Authority, chiefly on account of his being principally concerned in a War undertaken solely to revenge an Injury done to his Family, in the Person of his Brother *Menelaus*. In the *Persian* War indeed, the chief Command both by Land and Sea was yielded to the *Lacedaemonians*, whose Pretensions to it were founded

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cxcix

founded more upon their own Pride, and submitted to rather from the pressing Necessity of the Times, than the Strength and Greatness of their Republick. The *Athenians*, who had as good, and perhaps a better Claim to it, acquiesced for that Time under the Superiority thus allowed to *Sparta*; and to this they were induced by a generous Concern for the common Liberty of *Greece*, for which, to do them Justice, they always shewed a more disinterested Regard than their Rivals the *Lacedemonians*; and upon that Occasion contributed more to preserve it. But no sooner were the *Persians* driven out of *Greece*, and *Athens* a little recovered from the ruinous Condition, to which that War had reduced her, than almost all the little States of *Greece*, properly so called, fell into a Civil War, occasioned by a Dispute between those two powerfull Republicks for Dominion and Sovereignty; which, had it been originally lodged in either, or in one single Person, and limited by just and equal Laws, might not only have guarded the Liberties of *Greece* against any foreign Invader, but even have extended their Empire farther than it was carried by the Arms of *Alexander the Great*. By such an Authority, at least, all the intestine Feuds and Civil Wars might have been prevented, which so miserably harried the *Greeks* all the Time that they continued to enjoy, under their favourite Democratical Governments, the beloved Liberty of every State (I had almost said, every Man) consulting its own separate and particular Interest, to the Neglect, and indeed to the final Destruction, of the general Prosperity and Freedom of the whole *Greek Body*.

In such a State of Civil Hostility and Confusion were the Inhabitants of the *Peloponnesus*, when *Iphitus King of Elis*, supported by the Authority of the *Delphick Oracle*, instituted the *Olympick Games*: to which inviting them *all*, under the common Appellation of *Greeks*, he required them to suspend their Animosities; and, by the express Commands of the aforesaid *Oracle*, proclaimed a *Cessation of Arms* among all those States, who were then at War with each other. As by comprehending *all*, who were admitted to partake in this Solemnity,

cc A D I S S E R T A T I O N O N

lemnity, under the common Denomination of *Grecians*, he plainly intimated to them that they were *Brethren*, so did he oblige them to meet together as such, by compelling them, under the Penalty of being fined, and excluded from sacrificing to *Olympian Jupiter*, to forbear all Acts of Hostility during the Celebration of that *holy Festival*, and for some Time before and after ; thus like a true *Helladick*, or *Judge and Arbitr* of *Greece*, as the Word imports, summoning them, as it were, before his Tribunal, to end all their Quarrels by the amicable Method of Mediation. For it was with the View of constituting the *Eleans Mediators* of *Greece*, that they were commanded to abstain from War, as we may learn from the following Passage of *Phlegon* : “ The *Eleans* after this [*i. e.* after the Establishment of the *Olympick Festival*] being inclined to assist the *Lacedemonians*, who were then laying Siege to *Elis*, sent to *Delphi* to know the Pleasure of the God ; who by his *Priests* answered them in these Words : *Defend your own Country if attacked, but refrain from War, being yourselves the Examples and Arbiters of Amity and Concord to all the Grecians, till the Return of the Fifth [or Olympick] Year, which brings Peace with it.* In Obedience to this Oracle the *Eleans* abstained wholly from War, and gave themselves up to the Superintendency of the *Olympick Games*.”

Considering the divided Condition of the *Greeks*, and their Aptness to quarrel with each other, one may easily conceive the great Advantage arising from their having one Nation among them thus set apart, and consecrated, as it were, to the Office of a *Mediator*, by being forbidden to intermeddle in any of their Broils, or to molest their Neighbours ; and being themselves sheltered from all Invasions as an *Holy People*, under the Protection of the *King and Father of Gods and Men*, as he was styled by the *Greeks*. Who was the real Author of so wise an Institution, and how much Honour was due to him on that Account, the *Eleans* have plainly intimated by an Emblematical Figure of a Woman, named *Ececheiria* (a *Greek Word*

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cci

Greek Word signifying an *Armistice*, or *Truce*) crowning the Statue of *Iphitus*, erected by them in the very Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*, as I have before observed. To this *Mediatorial Tribunal*, thus appointed and protected by the Gods, the *Grecians* might have had Recourse, whenever they were inclined to terminate their Quarrels in an amicable Manner. But upon the Return of the *Olympick Festival*, they were all equally obliged, however deeply engaged in War with each other, and how averse soever to Peace, to suspend their Enmity, and meet together at *Olympia*, where, besides the Dignity and Authority of the *Mediator*, every Thing tended to conciliate their Minds to each other, and introduce Amity and Concord between the contending Parties. The Place itself was sacred to Peace; the Solemnity was founded in Religion; and in the *Games* (in which all, who were entitled to the Denomination of *Grecians*, were equally admitted to contend, whether Friends or Foes, and from which all Rancour and Malice in the Combatants was excluded, under severe Penalties) in the *Games*, I say, was exhibited a Spectacle in itself highly amusing and entertaining, and attended moreover with a perpetual Succession of Banquets, and all other Accompaniments of Festivity and Joy. And as the several Parts of this great Institution drew to *Olympia* an infinite Multitude of People from all Parts, so did that numerous Assembly invite thither the Men of the greatest Eminency in all the Arts of Peace; such as Historians, Orators, Philosophers, Poets, and Painters; who perceiving that the most compendious Way to Fame lay through *Olympia*, were there induced to exhibit their best Performances, at the Time of the Celebration of the *Olympick Games*. To this Assembly *Herodotus*¹⁴ read his History, to this Assembly *Acion*, a celebrated Painter, shewed his famous Picture of the Marriage of *Alexander* and *Roxana*; and for this Assembly *Hippias* the *Elean*, a *Sophist*, *Prodicus* the *Cean*, *Anaximenes* the *Chian*,

¹⁴ Lucian in Herodoto.

ccii A DISSERTATION ON

Polus of Agrigentum, and many other Sophists, Historians, and Orators, composed Discourses and Harangues ; and thither *Dionysius*, the Tyrant of *Sicily*, sent a Poem of his own writing to be recited publicly, by Persons hired for that Purpose. From whence, says *Lucian*¹⁵, they reaped the Advantage of gaining at once the general Suffrages of all *Greece* ; every State having its Representative, as it were, in that numerous and solemn Convention, and all who assisted on these Occasions carrying with them to their respective Countries the Name and Reputation of that Person, to whose Glory the Common Seal of *Greece*, if I may so speak, had already been set at *Olympia*. By the Pleasure arising from these Works of Peace, and the Applauses bestowed upon them, the Minds of Men were insensibly softened and diverted from the Thoughts of War. Besides, in so numerous an Assembly of the most considerable Persons of *Greece*, there never could be wanting some Patriots of Ability and Authority to interpose their friendly Offices, and incline the contending Parties to listen to an Accommodation ; as was once done by *Gorgias*, a celebrated *Rhetorician*, who, having composed an admirable Treatise upon the Subject of Concord, read it publicly at *Olympia* to all the *Grecians*, who were at that Time quarrelling among themselves.

But besides the *Religious Solemnity*, and the *Gymnastick* and *Æquestrian Games*, *Iphitus* also instituted a *Fair*¹⁶, to be held at *Olympia* at the same Time ; with a View, doubtless, of uniting the several People of *Greece* still closer to each other, in a friendly Intercourse of mutual Commerce, which can only flourish in Times of Peace ; and which, by the many Advantages it brings along with it, as well to the Publick as to the particular Persons engaged in the various Branches of Trade, naturally tends to call off the Attention of Mankind from War and Violence, and, what perhaps is still worse, the stupid and lazy Indolence of an uncivilized and savage Life, to the more pleasing

¹⁵ Lucian in Herodoto.

¹⁶ Velleius Paterc. L. v.

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. cciii

Methods of polishing and enriching themselves and their Countries, by cultivating all the usefull Arts of Civil and Social Industry.

When the *Grecians* happened to be free from these intestine Distractions, to which they were too much subject, their meeting together at *Olympia* every *Fifth* Year was highly beneficial to them upon other Accounts. For as they were, by their various Settlements on the Coasts of *Asia*, and *Africa*, and in *Europe*, dispersed and scattered into very distant Parts of the World, they had, at the Return of the *Olympick Festival*, an Opportunity of acquainting themselves exactly with each other's Strength and Condition, by means either of the *Candidates*, who came from all Parts to contend for the *Olympick Olive*, or of the *Deputies* sent by every *Grecian* City with Victims and Offerings to *Olympian Jupiter*. By the same means also they might receive Information of any Danger, which seemed to threaten the whole Community of *Greece*, or those of their Brethren who were settled on the Frontiers, and exposed to the Attacks of their common and perpetual Foes; whom, as well for Distinction sake as out of Hatred and Contempt, they stiled *Barbarians*. Against these, that is indeed, against all the Nations that surrounded them, and especially the *Persian*, their nearest and most formidable Enemy, it behoved them to be constantly on their Guard, as all the *Greek* Inhabitants of *Asia*, whose Number was very considerable, were in continual and immediate Danger of being swallowed up by that mighty Empire; and with their Safety that of their *European* Brethren was so closely connected, that if the Banks, which kept the great *Persian* Ocean within its Bounds, should happen, for want of their Concurrence to strengthen and support them, to be once broken down, it was to be feared the Inundation would soon extend to *Greece* itself, properly so called; as they once experienced, to the great Hazard of the total Destruction of the whole *Grecian* Name. As their meeting therefore at *Olympia* furnished them with an Opportunity of knowing
their

cciv A D I S S E R T A T I O N O N

their own Strength and Condition, as well as the Forces and Preparations of their common Enemies, so were they enabled by the same means to provide in the most effectual Manner for the general Security, by deliberating and consulting on the State of the Publick, strengthening the Union among themselves, and mutually exhorting and encouraging each other, to guard and maintain their common Liberties, and in every Case to proportion the Defence to the Danger that threatened either the whole, or any Part of the whole Community of *Greece*. Here too any particular State of *Greece*, that was oppressed by a powerfull Faction of her own Citizens, or by the Invasion of a Sister State, might make her Complaints, and plead her Cause before the rest of her Brethren, by whose Interposition she might be relieved from a Grievance, which her single Strength was not sufficient to redress.

As *Olympia*, from the Causes before assigned, grew to be a Place of general Resort, *Greece* derived from thence some other Advantages, which probably were not at first foreseen : for in Proceſs of Time *Olympia* became a kind of publick Repository of Historical Monuments ; in which were kept, engraven upon Marble Columns, many solemn Treaties made between particular States of *Greece*, and there recorded as lasting Witneſſes againſt thoſe who ſhould infringe them : many Memorials of ſingular and remarkable Events, as well as of great and illuſtrious Actions, were there exhibited in Trophies, Votive Statues, and other rich Donations, eſtimated at the tenth Part of the Value of the Spoils, and ſometimes even Part of the Spoils themſelves taken from the Enemy, conſecrated chiefly to *Olympian Jupiter*, and accompanied with Inſcriptions, in which the ſeveral Events that gave Occaſion to them were ſpecified, and the Names of the particular States, and principal Perſons concerned, were delivered down to Poſterity. In *Olympia* alſo, as in the chief Seat and Reſidence of Fame, if I may ſo ſpeak, were erected Statues in Honour of
many

THE OLYMPICK GAMES. ccv

many eminent and illustrious Men; of most of which the Reader may find a particular Account in the Fifth and Sixth Books of *Pausanias*, to which I refer him, as it would be too tedious to enumerate them in this Place. By these publick Monuments every *Grecian*, who resorted to *Olympia*, was instructed in many great Points of History, relating as well to his own particular Country as to *Greece* in general; reminded of the glorious Exploits of his Ancestors and Countrymen, and excited to imitate their Virtues, in hopes of acquiring one Day the like Honour to himself and his Country. And by these even Foreigners were induced to entertain a very high Opinion of a People, among whom they found so many Instances of Merit of every kind, and so generous and general a Disposition to preserve the Memory and Lustre of worthy Men, to serve as Examples and Encouragements to After-Ages.

These were some of the principal Advantages (for I do not pretend to have considered all) accruing to *Greece* from the Institution of the *Olympick Games*; which, though they were for above a thousand Years so highly revered by the *Grecians*, and are so frequently alluded to by all the *Greek*, and by many *Roman* Authors, are yet but imperfectly known even to Men of Learning; and have never, that I know of, been placed in the Light in which I have considered them. A Light, by which, I flatter myself, they will now appear to have been established upon great Political Views; to have had a considerable Influence upon the Manners and Morals of the *Greeks*, and consequently to deserve the Notice of all those, who, for the sake of Knowledge and Improvement, read the Writings and History of that great People, so abounding in Philosophers and Legislators.

The other *Three sacred Games*, namely, the *Pythian*, *Isthmian*, and *Nemean*, were of the same kind, and consisted of the same kind of Exercises; to which were added, in the *Pythian Games*, and perhaps in the others, *Poetical* and *Musical Contests*; and in them, as also at

Olympia, even *Heralds* or *Cryers*, and *Trumpeters*, were admitted to contend with each other, though I cannot find that these last mentioned Contests were exhibited in the *Stadium* ; at least not at *Olympia*, where there was a Place appropriated to them, and where it seems to me that the *Conquerors* did not receive a *Crown* ; for which Reason I did not think proper to mention them before.

From what has been said of the *Utility* of the *Olympick Games*, we may draw this general Inference :

That even the *Sports* and *Diversions* of a People may be turned to the Advantage of the Publick. Or rather,

That a wise and prudent Governor of a State may dispose the People to such Sports and Diversions, as may render them more serviceable to the Publick ; and that by impartially bestowing a few *honorary Prizes* upon those, who should be found to excell in any *Contest* he shall think proper to appoint, he may excite in the Husbandman, the Manufacturer, and the Mechanick, as well as in the Soldier, and the Sailor, and Men of superior Orders and Professions, such an Emulation, as may tend to promote Industry, encourage Trade, improve the Knowledge and Wisdom of Mankind, and consequently make his Country victorious in War, and in Peace opulent, virtuous, and happy.



Errata in the Dissertation.

Page.	Line.	
15	10	For Ekebaria read Eccebaria.
20	18	For Gadon read Gedon.
25	8	For Ekebeiria read Eccebaria.
26	15	After it insert to.
28	21	For Tetraferis read Tetraëteris. There is the same Error repeated two or three Times, which the Reader is desired to correct in the same Manner.
29	26	In Note 3, for Gemines read Geminus.
35	3	For Hellanodie read Hellanodiceum.
38	2	For swore read sworn.
45	16	After started place a full Stop.
ib.	25	After Course place a Semicolon ; and blot it out after Races
49	6	For In read Tu.
55	2	For after read often.
78	27	For this read their.
88	9	For Metius read Matches.
89	8	After near insert to them.
ib.	24	For Accident read Accidents.
95	9	For Manage read Manage.
99	8	After Chariot insert so.
ib.	14	For Parcori and Parasciri, read Parcori and Parasciri, and in the next Line for Parcoriæ read Parcoriæ.
101	22	Blot out only, and insert, it came to signify, when applied to the Foot-Races, the Measure of one Length of the Stadium only.
139	21	Blot out the Hooks () and for, as in the Stadium I suppose, read in the Stadium as I suppose
147	28	For Isclastici read Isclastici.
162	30	For beautiful read beautiful.
163	7	After Time insert not.
ib.	10	After following insert to.

Errata in the Odes.

Page.	Line.	
6	6	For the read thy.
38	11	For wandering read wondering.
40	12	Before may insert which.
44		In the 5th Note l. 2. after therefore dele many.
52	1	After Damagetus blot out the Stop ,
78	5	For by the read by thy.
90	2	For driven read riven.
98	13	For transcendant read transcendent.
100		In the Note : 2d Column, l. 8. for his read their.
122		Rectify the Date, instead of 1735 read 1725.
134		Last Line but two, after though blot out it be.
136		In the Note : 2d Column, l. 7. for those read that. l. 15, for State read Stage.
142	17	For Tower read Towers. Line the last, after Fly blot out O!
145	5	For the read those.
153	5	Point it thus : And Bulls fierce roaring ; Sounds, which &c.
161	13	Instead of Far read For.
164	22	After com'st insert thou.
186	17	For thy read the. In the Note l. 3. after this blot out first.
212		In the Note : 2d Column, Line the last, for invisibly read insensibly.
231	2	In the Note : 2d Column, l. 2. for drove read driven.
253	2	For o'er read or. l. 7. after settle put a Comma ,
296	13	For bound read bowed.
308	2	For their read the.

CON-

CONTENTS

OF THE

Odes of PINDAR.

	Page		Page
THE first Olympick Ode.	3	<i>Iphigenia in Tauris, trans-</i>	
<i>Second.</i>	18	<i>lated from Euripides.</i>	129
<i>Third.</i>	33	<i>The Triumphs of the Gout,</i>	
<i>Fifth.</i>	40	<i>translated from Lucian.</i>	229
<i>Seventh.</i>	47	<i>The Song of Orpheus, and the</i>	
<i>Eleventh.</i>	65	<i>setting out of the Argo,</i>	
<i>Twelfth.</i>	68	<i>translated from the Ar-</i>	
<i>Fourteenth.</i>	72	<i>gonauticks of Apollonius</i>	
<i>The first Pythian Ode.</i>	77	<i>Rhodius.</i>	261
<i>The first Nemean Ode.</i>	95	<i>The Story of Phineus, from</i>	
<i>The eleventh Nemean Ode.</i>	106	<i>the same.</i>	267
<i>The second Isthmian Ode.</i>	114	<i>The Hymn of Cleanthes.</i>	276
<i>The fourth Ode of the fourth</i>		<i>Menexenus, a Dialogue of</i>	
<i>Book of Horace.</i>	122	<i>Plato.</i>	279



O D E S

OF

P I N D A R.

Translated from the Greek.

Olympiæe miratus præmia palmæ.

VIRG. Geo. L. iii.

THE GREAT

OF THE GREAT

THE GREAT



THE GREAT

TO

THE GREAT

THE FIRST

OLYMPICK ODE.

This Ode is inscribed to *Hiero of Syracuse*, who, in the Seventy third *Olympiad*, obtained the Victory in the Race of Single Horses.

A R G U M E N T.

The Subject of this Ode being a Victory obtained by Hiero in the Olympick Games, Pindar sets out with shewing the Superiority and Pre-eminence of those Games over all others; among which, he says, they hold the same Rank, as Water (which, according to the Opinion of Thales and other Philosophers, was the Original of all Things) among the Elements, and Gold among the Gifts of Fortune. Wherefore, continues he, O my Heart, if thou art inclined to sing of Games, it would be as absurd to think of any other but the Olympick Games, as to look for Stars in the Sky, when the Sun is shining in his meridian Glory; especially as all the Guests at Hiero's Table (among which Number it is not improbable that Pindar was one at this Time) are singing Odes upon that Subject. From the mention of Hiero, he falls into a short Panegyrick upon his Virtues, and then passes to what gave Occasion to this Ode, viz. his Olympick Victory; under which Head he makes honourable mention of his Horse, Pherenicus (for that was his Name) who gained the Victory, and spread his Master's Glory as far as Pisa, or Olympia, the ancient Residence of Pelops the Son of Tantalus; into a long Account of whom he digresses; and ridiculing, as absurd and impious, the Story of his having been cut in Pieces by his Father Tantalus, boiled, and served up at an Entertainment given by him to the Gods, relates another Story, which

be thought more to the Honour both of Pelops and the Gods. This Relation he concludes with the Account of Pelops vanquishing Oenomaus, King of Pisa, in the Chariot Race, and by that Victory gaining his Daughter Hippodomia, settling at Pisa, and being there honoured as a God. From this Relation the Poet falls again naturally into an Account of the Olympick Games, and after a short Reflexion upon the Felicity of those who gained the Olympick Crown, returns to the Praises of Hiero, with which, and some occasional Reflexions on the Prosperity of Hiero, to whom he wishes a Continuance of his good Fortune, and a long Reign, he closes his Ode.

S T R O P H E I.

CHIEF of Nature's Works divine,
Water claims the highest Praise:

Richest Offspring of the Mine,

Gold, like Fire, whose flashing Rays

From afar conspicuous gleam

Through the Night's involving Cloud,

First in Lustre and Esteem,

Decks the Treasures of the Proud:

So among the Lifts of Fame

Pisa's honour'd Games excell;

Then to *Pisa's* glorious Name

Tune, O Muse, thy sounding Shell.

ANTISTROPHE I.

Who along the desert Air
 Seeks the faded starry Train,
 When the Sun's meridian Carr
 Round illumes th'Ætherial Plain?
 Who a nobler Theme can chuse
 Than *Olympia's* sacred Games?
 What more apt to fire the Muse,
 When her various Songs she frames?
 Songs in Strains of Wisdom drest
 Great *Saturnius* to record,
 And by each rejoicing Guest
 Sung at *Hiero's* feastfull Board.

EPODE I.

In pastoral *Sicilia's* fruitful Soit
 The righteous Sceptre of Imperial Pow'r
 Great *Hiero* wielding, with illustrious Toil
 Plucks ev'ry blooming Virtue's fairest Flow'r
 His Royal Splendour to adorn:
 Nor doth his skilfull Hand refuse
 Acquaintance with the tuneful Muse,
 When 'round the mirthfull Board the Harp is borne.

* Round the Board the Harp is borne.] Ancients: At their Entertainments a Harp
 This, it seems, was a Custom among the was carried round the Table, and presented

STROPHE.

OLYMPICK ODES

ODE I.

STROPHE II.

Down then from the glittering Nail
Take, O Muse, thy² *Dorian* Lyre;
If the Love of³ *Pisa's* Vale
Pleasing Transports can inspire;
Or the rapid-footed Steed
Cou'd with Joy the Bosom move,
When, unwhip'd, with native Speed
O'er the dusty Course he drove;
And where deck'd with Olives flows,
⁴ *Alpheus*, thy immortal Flood,
On his Lord's triumphant Brows
The *Olympick* Wreath bestow'd:

ANTISTROPHE II.

Hiero's Royal Brows, whose Care
Tends the Courser's noble Breed;
Pleas'd to nurse the pregnant Mare,
Pleas'd to train the youthful Steed.

to every Guest, which if any one refused out of Ignorance or Unskillfulness, he was looked upon as illiterate or ill-bred.

² The Epithet *Dorian* is here given to the Lyre, to signify that this Ode was adapted to the *Dorian* Mood, the most solemn and pompous of the three Kinds of *Grecian* Musick: the other two were the *Lydian* and *Phrygian*.

³ *Pisa's Vale*] *Pisa* (the same with *Olympia*) was a Town in the Territory of *Elis*, where the *Olympick* Games were held, often

confounded, especially by the Poets, with *Elis*, though they were distant from each other about fifty Stades. The Name of *Hiero's* Horse was *Pherenicus*.

⁴ *Alpheus* was a River in *Elis*, upon whose Banks the Games were celebrated.

Now

Now on that Heroick Land

His far beaming Glories beat,
Where with all his *Lydian* Band

Pelops fix'd his honour'd Seat :

Pelops, by the God belov'd,

Whose strong Arms the Globe embrace ;

When by *Jove's* high Orders mov'd

Clorbo blest'd the healing Vase.

EPODE II.

Forth from the Cauldron to new Life restor'd,

Pleas'd with the Lustre of his Iv'ry Arm

Young *Pelops* rose ; so ancient Tales record,

And oft these Tales unheeding Mortals charm ;

While gaudy Fiction deck'd with Art,

And dress'd in ev'ry winning Grace,

To Truth's unornamented Face

Prefer'd, seduces oft the human Heart.

The *Olympick* Crown was compos'd of Olive Branches, of which Plant there were large Groves at *Olympia*. *Alpheus* was there worshipped as a God.

The fabulous Story of *Pelops* is this : *Tantalus*, the Father of *Pelops*, being in his Turn to make a Dinner for the Gods, and having nothing fit to give them, killed his Son *Pelops*, and after having cut him in Pieces and boiled him, set his Flesh upon the Table ; but *Jupiter* discovering the impious Cheat, ordered *Mercury* to put the Members again into the Cauldron, whence,

by the Power of the Fates, the Handmaids of *Jupiter*, *Pelops* came out alive again ; but to supply the Loss of his Arm, devoured it seems by *Ceres* or *Thetis*, who were more hungry, or less cunning than *Jupiter*, the Fates bestowed upon him an Arm of Ivory. This Story *Pindar* with Justice ridicules, as reflecting upon the Gods, though perhaps that which he substitutes in its Place, may be liable to the same Objection. His Moral however is very good. *Clorbo* was one of the three Destinies.

STROPHE.

STROPHÉ III.

Add to these sweet Poesy,
 Smooth Inchantress of Mankind,
 Clad in whose false Majesty
 Fables easy Credit find.
 But e'er long the rolling Year
 The deceitful Tale explodes:
 Then, O Man, with holy Fear
 Touch the Characters of Gods.
 Of their Heav'nly Natures say
 Nought unseemly, nought profane,
 So shalt thou due Honour pay,
 So be free from guilty Stain.

ANTISTROPHÉ III.

Diff'ring then from ancient Fame
 I thy Story will record:
 How the Gods invited came
 To thy Father's genial Board;
 In his Turn the holy Feast
 When on *Sipylus* he spread;
 To the Tables of the Blest
 In his Turn with Honour led.

* *Sipylus* was a Mountain, or, as some say, a Town in *Lydia*.

STROPHES

Neptune

ODE I.

OF PINDAR.

9

Neptune then thy lovely Face,
Son of *Tantalus*, survey'd,
And with amorous Embrace
Far away the Prize convey'd.

EPODE III.

To the high Palace of all-honour'd *Jove*
With *Pelops* swift the golden Chariot rolls.
There, like more ancient *Ganymede*, above
For *Neptune* he prepares the nectar'd Bowls.
But for her vanish'd Son in vain
When long his tender Mother fought,
And Tidings of his Fate were brought
By none of all her much-inquiring Train;

STROPHE IV.

O'er the envious Realm with Speed
A malicious Rumour flew,
That, his heav'nly Guests to feed,
Thee thy impious Father flew:
In a Cauldron's seething Flood
That thy mangled Limbs were cast,
Thence by each voracious God
On the Board in Meſſes plac'd.

B

But

But shall I the Plest abuse ?
 With such Tales to stain her Song
 Far, far be it from my Muse !
 Vengeance waits th' unhallow'd Tongue.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

Sure, if e'er to Man befel
 Honour from the Pow'r divine
 Who on high *Olympus* dwell,
Tantalus, the Lot was thine.
 But alas ! his mortal Sense
 All too feeble to digest
 The Delights of Blifs immense,
 Sickn'd at the heav'nly Feast.
 Whence, his Folly to chastise,
 O'er his Head with Pride elate,
Jove, great Father of the Skies,
 ' Hung a Rock's enormous Weight.

EPODE IV.

Now vainly lab'ring with incessant Pains
 Th' impending Rock's expected Fall to shun,
 The fourth distressful Instance he remains
 Of wretched Man by impious Pride undone ;

⁷ There are many other different Accounts of the Punishment and the Crime of *Tantalus*, founded on no better Authority than this, viz. the Word of a Poet ; with which, for that Reason, I shall not trouble the Reader. The other three Persons here

Who

Who to his mortal Guests convey'd
Th' incorruptible Food of Gods,
On which in their divine Abodes
Himself erst feasting was immortal made.

S T R O P H E V.

Vain is he, who hopes to cheat

The all-seeing Eyes of Heaven:

From *Olympus*' blissfull Seat,

For his Father's Theft, was driven,

Pelops, to reside once more

With frail Man's swift-passing Race.

Where (for now Youth's blowing Flow'r

Deck'd with op'ning Pride his Face ;

And with manly Beauty sprung

On each Cheek the downy Shade)

Ever burning for the Young,

Hymen's Fires his Heart invade.

A N T I S T R O P H E V.

⁸ Anxious then th' *Elean* Bride

From her Royal Sire to gain,

Near the Billow-beaten Side

Of the foam beliver'd Main,

alluded to are *Sisyphus*, *Tityus*, and *Ixion*. in the *Greek* Scholiast.

There are other Interpretations put upon ⁸ *Hippodamia*, the Daughter of *Oenomaus*
this Passage, which the Learned may see King of *Pisa* ; who being extremely fond

B 2

Darkling

Darkling and alone he stood,

Invoking oft the Name

Of the Trident-bearing God :

Strait the Trident-bearer came :

“ If the sweet Delights of Love,

“ Which from Beauty's Queen descend,

“ Canthy yielding Bosom move,

“ Mighty God, my Cause befriend.

E P O D E V.

With strong Prevention let thy Hand controll

“ The brazen Lance of *Pisa's* furious King ;

“ And to the Honours of th' *Elean* Goal

“ Me with unrival'd Speed in Triumph bring.

“ Transfix'd by his unerring Spear

“ Already thirteen Youths have dy'd,

“ Yet he persists with cruel Pride,

“ *Hippodamia's* Nuptials to defer.

of his Daughter (the most beautifull Woman of her Time) and therefore unwilling to part with her, obliged every one who fought her in Marriage, to contend with him in the Chariot-Race ; in which he doubted not of obtaining the Victory, as his Horses were noted for Strength and Swiftne's. The Beauty of the Lady encouraged many Lovers, Thirteen, as *Pin-dar* lays, to enter the Lists, notwithstanding the terrible Consequences of their being vanquish'd ; for *Cenonæus*, not contented

with refusing his Daughter to these unsuccessful Lovers, killed them with his Spear, when he overtook them in the Race. *Peleps* however, depending on the Aid of *Neptune*, the Inventor, or-Creator rather, of Horses, and encouraged by *Hippodamia*, (who, according to *Apollodorus*, rode with him in the Chariot, and assisted him with her Advice) accepted the Conditions, and gained the Victory ; though, it seems, he was more indebted to the Charioteer of *Cenonæus*, than to *Neptune*. The Cha-

STROPHE

STROPHÉ VI.

“ In the Paths of dang’rous Fame
 “ Trembling Cowards never tread :
 “ Yet since all of mortal Frame
 “ Must be number’d with the Dead,
 “ Who in dark inglorious Shade
 “ Wou’d his useless Life consume,
 “ And with deedless Years decay’d,
 “ Sink unhonour’d to the Tomb ?
 “ I that Shamefull Lot disdain ;
 “ I this doubtfull Lift will prove ;
 “ May my Vows from thee obtain
 “ Conquest, and the Prize of Love.”

ANTISTROPHÉ VI.

Thus he pray’d, and mov’d the God ;
 Who, his bold Attempt to grace,
 On the favour’d Youth bestow’d
 Steeds unwearied in the Race ;
 Steeds, with winged Speed endued,
 Harnes’d to a Golden Carr.
 So was *Pisa’s* King subdu’d ;
Pelops so obtain’d the Fair.

rioter was bribed ; and his Master thrown as he had overtaken *Pelops*, and was going
 out of the Chariot, which broke down, just to transfix him with his Spear.

From

From whose Womb a noble Brood,
Six illustrious Brothers came,
All with virtuous Minds endow'd,
Leaders all of mighty Fame.

E P O D E VI.

Now in the solemn Service of the Dead,
Rank'd with immortal Gods, great *Pelops* Shares ;
While to his Altar, on the wat'ry Bed
Of *Alpheus* rais'd, from every Clime repairs
The wond'ring Stranger, to behold
The Glories of th' *Olympick* Plain ;
Where, the resplendent Wreath to gain,
Contend the Swift, the Active, and the Bold.

S T R O P H E VII.

Happy He, whose glorious Brow
Pisa's honour'd Chaplets crown !
Calm his Stream of Life shall flow
Shelter'd by his high Renown.

⁹ *New in the solemn Service of the Dead,
Rank'd with immortal Gods, great Pelops
Shares ;]*

We learn from the younger Scholiasts of *Pindar*, that the young Men of *Peloponnesus* were accustomed, upon the Anniversary of the Funeral of *Pelops*, to flath themselves with Scourges ; offering to him by that means a kind of Libation of their own Blood ; to which Custom *Pindar* is here supposed to allude. The old Scholiast, how-

ever, seems to think that no more is signified here, than that *Pelops* died, was magnificently buried, and worshipped afterwards as a God. That he was worshipped by the *Eleans* with great Devotion, we are told both by *Pausanias* and the Scholiast ; the last of whom informs us, that the People of *Elis* sacrificed to *Pelops* before *Jupiter*, alledging, for their so doing, the Authority of *Hercules*.

¹⁰ *Happy He, &c.]* Of the Advantages
That

That alone is Bliss supreme,
Which, unknowing to decay,
Still with ever-shining Beam
Gladdens each succeeding Day.
Then for happy *Hiero* weave
Garlands of *Æolian* Strains;
Him these Honours to receive
The *Olympick* Law ordains.

ANTISTROPHE VII.

Nor more worthy of her Lay
Can the Muse a Mortal find;
Greater in Imperial Sway,
Richer in a virtuous Mind;
Heav'n, O King, with tender care
Waits thy Wishes to fulfil.
Then e'er long will I prepare,
¹¹ Plac'd on *Chironium's* funny Hill,
Thee in sweeter Verse to praise,
Following thy victorious Steeds;
If to prosper all thy Ways
Still thy Guardian God proceeds.

accruing from an *Olympick* Victory I have ¹¹ This Hill was near the *Stadium* at
spoken at large in the *Dissertation*, to *Olympia*, so that from thence might be
which therefore I refer the Reader. seen the Races, &c.

E P O D E VII.

Fate hath in various Stations rank'd Mankind:

In Royal Pow'r the long Gradations end.

By that Horizon prudently confin'd,

Let not thy Hopes to farther Views extend.

Long may'st thou wear the Regal Crown,

And may thy Bard his With receive,

¹² With thee, and such as thee to live,

Around his native *Greece* for Wisdom known.

¹² *With thee, and such as thee to live.*] As *When round the mirthful Board the Harp*

is borne.

and

*Down then from the glittering Nail
Take, O Muse, thy Dorian Lyre.*

From which Passages we may collect, that the Guests of *Hiero* (and he among the rest, according to the Custom mentioned in *Note the first*) having either sung, or accompanied some Ode, whose Subject was taken, in all likelihood, from some Circumstance relating to the *Olympick Games*; and it being now come to *Pindar's* Turn to perform, he, after praising in general Terms the Subject of their Songs [the *Olympick Games*] the Skill and Wisdom of those, who had performed before him, the Magnificence, and other Royal Virtues, of *Hiero*, and particularly his Knowledge and Performance in Music, calls, as it were in a Poetical Rapture, for his Harp (which we may suppose, agreeably to the Custom of those Times, hung in the Chamber near him) and entertains the Company with an Ode on the Founder of the *Olympick Games*;

καὶ τὰ Σαυὰ τραπέζαν. and ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ Φόρος γὰρ ἡ παροῦσα Νέμεσις.

which he, with many others, derives from *Pelops* the Son of *Tantalus*, who is said to have celebrated them on the Occasion of the Funeral of *Oenomaus*. In this View there appears to be great Propriety and Beauty, not in the two above cited Passages only, but in many of the preceding Verses also of this Ode; but this I submit to the Judgment of the learned Reader.

Hiero, in this Ode, is more than once styled King; and yet we are left in the dark as to the City or People, over which

he reigned at this Time: all we know is, that it could not be the City of *Syracuse*, notwithstanding he chose to denominate himself of that City when he entered himself a Candidate for the *Olympick* Crown, for he did not come to the Crown of *Syracuse* till after the Death of his Brother *Gelo*, which happened in the 75th *Olympiad*, many Years after the Date of the Victory here celebrated by *Pindar*. See *Pythian Ode I. Note 5*.



THE SECOND

OLYMPICK ODE.

This Ode is inscribed to *Theron* King of *Agigentum*, who came off Conqueror in the Race of Chariots drawn by Four Horses, in the Seventy seventh *Olympiad*.

A R G U M E N T.

The Poet, in answer to the Question, What God, what Hero, and what Mortal he should sing (with which Words this Ode immediately begins) having named Jupiter and Hercules, not only as the first of Gods and Heroes, but as they were peculiarly related to his Subject; the one being the Protector, and the other the Founder of the Olympick Games; falls directly into the Praises of Theron: by this Method artfully insinuating, that Theron held the same Rank among all Mortals, as the two former did among the Gods and Heroes. In enumerating the many Excellencies of Theron, the Poet, having made mention of the Nobility of his Family (a Topic seldom or never omitted by Pindar) takes occasion to lay before him the various Accidents and Vicissitudes of human Life, by Instances drawn from the History of his own Ancestors, the Founders of Agigentum; who, it seems, underwent many Difficulties, before they could build, and settle themselves in that City; where afterwards, indeed, they made a very considerable Figure, and were rewarded for their past Sufferings with Wealth and Honour; according to which Method of proceeding, the Poet (alluding to some Misfortunes that had befallen Theron) beseeches Jupiter to deal with their Posterity, by recompensing their former Afflictions with a

Series

Series of Peace and Happiness for the future; in the Enjoyment of which they would soon lose the Memory of whatever they had suffered in Times past: the constant Effect of Prosperity being to make Men forget their past Adversity; which is the only Reparation that can be made to them for the Miseries they have undergone. The Truth of this Position be makes appear from the History of the same Family; by the farther Instances of Semele, Ino, and Thersander; and lastly, of Theron himself, whose former Cares and Troubles, he insinuates, are repaid by his present Happiness and Victory in the Olympick Games: For his Success in which, the Poet however intimates, that Theron was no less indebted to his Riches, than to his Virtue, since he was enabled by the one, as well as disposed by the other, to undergo the Trouble and Expence that was necessary to qualify him for a Candidate for the Olympick Crown in particular, and, in general, for the Performance of any great and worthy Action: for the Words are general. From whence he takes occasion to tell him, that the Man who possesses these Treasures, viz. Riches and Virtue, that is, the Means and the Inclination of doing good and great Actions, has the farther Satisfaction of knowing, that he shall be rewarded for it hereafter; and go among the Heroes into the Fortunate Islands (the Paradise of the Ancients) which he here describes; some of whose Inhabitants are likewise mentioned by way of inciting Theron to an Imitation of their Actions; as Peleus, Cadmus, and Achilles. Here the Poet, finding himself, as well from the Abundance of Matter, as from the Fertility of his own Genius, in danger of wandering too far from his Subject, recalls his Muse, and returns to the Praise of Theron; whose Beneficence and Generosity, he tells us, were not to be equalled: With which, and with some Reflections upon the Enemies and Maligners of Theron, he concludes.

STROPHE I.

Y^E choral Hymns, harmonious Lays,
Sweet Rulers of the Lyrick String,
What God? what Hero's godlike Praise?

What Mortal shall we sing?

With *Jove*, with ' *Pisa's* Guardian God,
Begin, O Muse, th' *Olympick* Ode.

Alcides, *Jove's* Heroick Son,

The second Honours claims;

Who, offering up the Spoils from *Augeas* won,
Eftablish'd to his Sire th' *Olympick* Games;

Where bright in Wreaths of Conquest *Theron* shone.

Then of victorious *Theron* sing!

Of *Theron* hospitable, just, and great!

Fam'd ' *Agriгентum's* honour'd King,

The Prop and Bulwark of her tow'ring State;

A righteous Prince! whose flow'ring Virtues grace

The venerable Stem of his illustrious Race:

¹ *Pisa* and *Olympia* have by many been mistaken for the same Place; however, *Olympia* stood in the Territory of *Pisa*, and not far distant from it.

² *Agriгентum* (in *Greek Agragas*) was a Town in *Sicily*, situated upon a River of the same Name, which I therefore call her Kindred Flood. The Poet a little after gives it the Epithet of Sacred; an Epithet but ill accounted for, in my Opi-

nion, by the Commentators upon this Author, for which Reason I shall not trouble the Reader with what they say upon it, nor with the different Histories they give of the Ancestors of *Theron*, who built that City. The Reader will understand from the Poet himself, that they went through many Difficulties, &c. which is sufficient: the same may be said with regard to *Theron*; the Particulars of

ANTISTROPHE I.

A Race, long exercis'd in Woes
 E're, smiling o'er her kindred Flood,
 The Mansion of their wish'd Repose,

Their sacred City flood ;
 And through amaz'd *Sicilia* shone
 The Lustre of their fair Renown.
 Thence, as the milder Fates decreed,

In destin'd Order born,
 Auspicious Hours with smoother Pace succeed ;
 While Pow'r and Wealth the noble Line adorn,
 And Public Favour, Virtue's richest Meed.

O Son of ³*Rhea*, God supreme !
 Whose kingly Hands th' *Olympian* Sceptre wield !
 Rever'd on *Alpheus*' sacred Stream !
 And honour'd most in *Pisa*'s lifted Field !

Propitious listen to my soothing Strain !
 And to the worthy Sons their Fathers' Rights maintain !

EPODE I.

Peace on their future Life, and Wealth bestow ;
 And bid their present Moments calmly flow.

whole History are very imperfectly related. ver of *Elis* upon whose Banks was the
³ *Rhea* was the Wife of *Saturn*, and *Olympick Stadium*, in which the Games
 Mother of *Jupiter*. *Alpheus* was a River were performed.

The Deed once done no Pow'r can abrogate,
 Not the great Sire of all Things, Time, nor Fate.
 But sweet Oblivion of disastrous Care,
 And Good succeeding, may the Wrong repair.
 Lost in the Brightness of returning Day,
 The gloomy Terrors of the Night decay;
 When *Jove* commands the Sun of Joy to rise,
 And opens into Smiles the Cloud-invelop'd Skies.

STROPHE II.

⁴ Thy hapless Daughters' various Fate
 This moral Truth, O *Cadmus*, shows;
 Who vested now with Godlike State
 On heav'nly Thrones repose;
 And yet Affliction's thorny Road
 In bitter Anguish once they trod.

⁴ *Theron* was descended from *Cadmus*: the Instances therefore of *Semele* and *Ino*, Daughters to *Cadmus*, are extremely proper and well chosen by the Poet, as they tend not only to illustrate the Truth he would inculcate by these Examples, but to do Honour to *Theron*, by shewing that he was related to Deities.

The Story of these Goddesses is as follows. *Juno*, having discovered that her Husband *Jupiter* was in love with *Semele*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*, disguised herself in the Shape of an old Woman, and under that Appearance prevailed with the young Lady, not a little proud of so great a Lover, to insist upon his granting her

Request, whatever it should be, as giving her at once an undeniable Evidence, both of his Divinity and his Love; having obtained that Promise, she was to require him, in the next Place, to visit her with all those Emblems and Appurtenances of divine Majesty, wherewith he was wont to go to the Bed of *Juno*. The first Part of her Petition being obtained, the second, it seems, could not be refused, to the great Grief of *Jupiter*, who was thus endangered, by the Artifices of *Juno*, by his own Fondness, and the Vanity and Curiosity of *Semele*, to destroy his Mistress. He came attended with his Thunders and his Lightnings, in whose Flames poor *Se-*

I

But

But Bliss superior hath eras'd
 The Mem'ry of their Woe;
 While *Semele*, on high *Olympus* plac'd,
 To heav'nly Zephyrs bids her Tresses flow,
 Once by devouring Lightnings all defac'd.
 There with immortal Charms improv'd,
 Inhabitant of Heav'n's serene Abodes
 She dwells, by Virgin *Pallas* lov'd,
 Lov'd by *Saturnius*, Father of the Gods;
 Lov'd by her youthful Son, whose Brows divine,
 In twisting Ivy bound, with Joy eternal shine.

ANTISTROPHE II.

To *Ino*, Goddess of the Main,
 The Fates an equal Lot decree,
 Rank'd with old Ocean's *Nereid* Train,
 Bright Daughters of the Sea.

male perished. *Jupiter* however did all the Life or Person of those he mentions; he could to repair the fatal Error; for or perhaps to some noted Picture or Statue, as in the present Passage relating to *Semele*, and others that I shall take notice of in the Course of these Observations. *Atbanas*, the Husband of *Ino*, the other Daughter of *Cadmus*, being, by the Infatigation likewise of *Juno*, struck by the Furies with Madness, and having seized upon one of his Children, which his Wife, whom he then took for a Lioness, held in her Arms, she in a Fright fled away with the other, and cast him and herself headlong into the Sea, where *Nephtune*, taking Pity of her, converted them both into Deities of the Sea.

Deep

Deep in the pearly Realms below,
Immortal Happiness to know.

But here our Day's appointed End

To Mortals is unknown;

Whether Distress our Period shall attend,
And in tumultuous Storms our Sun go down,
Or to the Shades in peaceful Calms descend.

For various flows the Tide of Life,

Obnoxious still to Fortune's veering Gale;

Now rough with Anguish, Care, and Strife,
O'erwhelming Waves the shatter'd Bark assail:
Now glide serene and smooth the limpid Streams;
And on the Surface play *Apollo's* golden Beams.

EP ODE II.

Thus, Fate, O *Theron*, that with Bliss divine
And Glory once enrich'd thy ancient Line,

Again reverſing ev'ry gracious Deed,

Woe to thy wretched Sires and Shame decreed;

What Time, encount'ring on the *Phocian* Plain,

By luckleſs *Oedipus* was *Laius* slain.

To Parricide by Fortune blindly led,

His Father's precious Life the Hero shed;

Doom'd to fulfill the Oracles of Heav'n,

To *Thebes*' ill destin'd^s King by *Pythian Phœbus* giv'n.

^s *Laius* King of *Thebes*, enquiring of the was told that he should have a Son, but *Delphick* or *Pythian* Oracle about Children, that he was destined to die by the Hands

S T R O P H E III.

But with a fierce avenging Eye
Eriny's the foul Murder view'd,
 And bade his warring Offspring die,

By mutual Rage subdu'd.
 Pierc'd by his Brother's hateful Steel
 Thus haughty *Polynices* fell.

' *Thersander*, born to calmer Days,
 Surviv'd his falling Sire,
 In youthful Games to win immortal Praise;
 Renown in martial Combats to acquire,
 And high in Pow'r th' *Adrastian* House to raise.

of that Son: For this Reason, as soon as *Oedipus* was born, he gave him to a Shepherd to be murdered; who, in Execution of those Orders, left him in the Fields where he might be starved to Death; but being found there by another Shepherd, and by him presented to the Wife of *Polybus* King of *Corinth*, she bred him up for her own Child. But when he grew up, and came to understand that he was not the Son of *Polybus*, he went in search of his own Father, met him by Accident in *Phocis*, and in a Tumult slew him, without knowing him indeed to be his Father; but not without incurring the Displeasure of the Gods by so horrid a Parricide, though he was predestined to it by

their own Decree. *Eriny's* the Goddess of Vengeance observed the Murder, as the Poet expresses it, and, to revenge it, stirred up that Discord between his two Sons *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, that they slew each other in Battle.

⁶ *Thersander* was the Son of *Polynices* by *Argia* the Daughter of *Adrastus*, whence Mention is here made of the *Adrastian* House, which he is said to have raised, because he afterwards revenged upon the *Thebans*, the Injuries and Disgrace that his Grandfather *Adrastus* had suffered before *Thebes*, when he came to the Assistance of *Polynices*. *Thersander* was one of those Heroes, who went to the War of *Troy*.

D

Forth

Forth from this venerable Root
⁷ *Aeneidamus* and his *Theron* spring;
 For whom I touch my *Dorian* Flute,
 For whom triumphant strike my sounding String.
 Due to his Glory is th' *Aonian* Strain,
 Whose Virtue gain'd the Prize in fam'd *Olympia's* Plain.

ANTISTROPHE III.

Alone in fam'd *Olympia's* Sand
 The Victor's Chaplet *Theron* wore;
 But with him on the *Isthmian* Strand,
 On sweet *Castalia's* Shore,
 The verdant Crowns, the proud Reward
 Of Victory his⁸ Brother shar'd,
 Copartner in immortal Praise,
 As warm'd with equal Zeal
 The light-foot Courser's generous Breed to raise,
 And whirl around the Goal the fervid Wheel.
 The painful Strife *Olympia's* Wreath repays:
 But Wealth with nobler Virtue join'd
 The Means and fair Occasions must procure;
 In Glory's Chace must aid the Mind,
 Expence, and Toil, and Danger to endure;

⁷ *Aeneidamus* was the Father of *Theron*. celebrated at the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*,
⁸ *Xenocrates*. The *Isthmian* Games were whence they took their Name; and the

With

With mingling Rays they feed each other's Flame,
And shine the brightest Lamp in all the Sphere of Fame.

E P O D E III.

The happy Mortal, who these Treasures shares,
Well knows what Fate attends his gen'rous Cares ;
Knows, that beyond the Verge of Life and Light,
In the sad Regions of infernal Night,
The fierce, impracticable, churlish Mind
Avenging Gods and penal Woes shall find ;
Where strict inquiring Justice shall bewray
The Crimes committed in the Realms of Day.
The impartial Judge the rigid Law declares,
No more to be revers'd by Penitence or Pray'rs.

S T R O P H E IV.

But in the happy Fields of Light,
Where *Phœbus* with an equal Ray
Illuminates the balmy Night,
And gilds the cloudless Day,
In peaceful, unmolested Joy,
The Good their smiling Hours employ.

Pythian Games were celebrated upon the they were both used at different times) Banks of the River *Casalia*. The *Isthmian* and the *Pythian* Crown was made of Crown was composed either of Parsley, Laurel. or the Branches of the Pine Tree (for

Them no uneasy Wants constrain

To vex th' ungrateful Soil,

To tempt the Dangers of the billowy Main,

And break their Strength with unabating Toil,

A frail disastrous Being to maintain.

But in their joyous calm Abodes,

The Recompence of Justice they receive ;

And in the Fellowship of Gods

Without a Tear eternal Ages live.

While banish'd by the Fates from Joy and Rest,
Intolerable Woes the impious Soul infest.

ANTISTROPHE IV.

But they who, in true Virtue strong,

'The third Purgation can endure ;

And keep their Minds from fraudulent Wrong,

And Guilt's Contagion pure ;

⁹ *Pindar* in this follows the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, who held the Transmigration of the Soul ; according to which Doctrine, the several Bodies, into which the Soul passes successively, were so many Purgatories, that served to purify and refine it by Degrees, till it was at last rendered fit to enter into the *Fortunate Islands*, the Paradise of the Ancients, as I said before ; about which nothing can be written but Conjectures, with which it is not necessary to trouble the Reader. The *Greek* Words imply a State of Probation in the other World as well as this ; concerning which, therefore, and this Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, the Reader may consult the Sixth Book of *Virgil* ; and the Third Book of *Ælian's V. Hist.* l. 18. for the History of these *Fortunate Islands*, as also the Fourth Book of the *Odys.* &c. I must observe, that *Saturn* and his Wife *Rhea*, the Progenitors of *Jupiter*, are, according to the Heathen Mythology, very properly made to preside in these Islands, since, under their Government upon Earth, the World enjoyed that State of Innocence, which the Poets signify by the Golden Age.

They

They through the starry Paths of *Jove*
To *Saturn's* blissful Seat remove;
Where fragrant Breezes, vernal Airs,

Sweet Children of the Main,

Purge the blest Island from corroding Cares,
And fan the Bosom of each verdant Plain :
Whose fertile Soil immortal Fruitage bears ;

Trees, from whose flaming Branches flow
Array'd in golden Bloom refulgent Beams ;

And Flow'rs of golden Hue, that blow

On the fresh Borders of their Parent Streams.

These by the Blest in solemn Triumph worn,

Their unpolluted Hands and clustring Locks adorn.

EPODE IV.

Such is the righteous Will, the high Behest
Of *Rhadamanthus*, Ruler of the Blest ;

The just Affessor of the Throne divine,

On which, high rais'd above all Gods, recline,

Link'd in the Golden Bands of wedded Love,

The great Progenitors of Thund'ring *Jove*.

There, in the Number of the Blest enroll'd,

Live *Cadmus*, *Peleus*, Heroes fam'd of old ;

And young *Achilles*, to those Isles remov'd,

Soon as, by *Thetis* won, relenting *Jove* approv'd :

STROPHE V.

Achilles, whose restless Might
Troy's stable Pillar overthrew,
 The valiant *Hector*, firm in Fight,
 And hardy *Cygnus* flew,
 And *Memnon*, Offspring of the Morn,
 In torrid *Aethiopia* born —
 Yet in my well-flor'd Breast remain
 Materials to supply
 With copious Argument my Moral Strain,
 Whose mystick Sense the Wife alone descry,
 Still to the Vulgar sounding harsh and vain.

¹⁰ From this Passage it is evident, that *Pindar* had fallen under the lash of some Criticks or Rivals, who, proud of their Learning, had objected to him the want of it, and had censured him, in all likelihood, for his frequent using of Moral Sentences, Historical Allusions, and figurative Expressions; which, together with the many and long Digressions, and the sudden Transition from one Point to another, so observable in all his Compositions, rendered them, as they pretended, intricate and obscure. All this Charge *Pindar*, like a Poet of Spirit, answers with a thorough Contempt of his Adversaries; whom, notwithstanding all their boasted Learning, he ranks with the Vul-

gar; and, conscious of the Superiority of Genius over Art (which I suppose is here chiefly meant by Learning) compares himself, with a noble Arrogance, to an Eagle sailing along the Sky, and pursued by a Parcel of Crows and Jays, who follow him at a Distance with great Noise and Clamour, but can neither reach nor obstruct his Flight: A proper Image of the Impotence and Malice of Criticks and Pedants in all times, though it must be confessed, there are few Poets to be found, that can answer the other Part of the Comparison. The Scholiast tells us, that the learned Persons hinted at by *Pindar* in this Passage, were *Bacchylides* and *Simonides*.

He only, in whose ample Breast
Nature hath true inherent Genius pour'd,
The Praise of Wisdom may contest;
Not they who, with loquacious Learning stor'd,
Like Crows and chattering Jays, with clam'rous Cries
Pursue the Bird of *Jove*, that sails along the Skies.

AN T I S T R O P H E V.

Come on ! thy brightest Shafts prepare,
And bend, O Muse, thy founding Bow ;
Say, through what Paths of liquid Air
Our Arrows shall we throw ?

On *Agrirentum* fix thine Eye,
Thither let all thy Quiver fly.

And thou, O *Agrirentum*, hear,
While with religious Dread,

And taught the Laws of Justice to revere,
To heav'nly Vengeance I devote my Head,
If ought to Truth repugnant now I swear,
Swear, that no State, revelling o'er

The long Memorials of recorded Days,

Can shew in all her boasted Store

A Name to parallel thy *Theron's* Praise ;

One to the Acts of Friendship so inclin'd,

So fam'd for bounteous Deeds, and Love of Human Kind.

EPODE V.

"Yet hath obftrep'rous Envy fought to drown
 The goodly Muſick of his ſweet Renown;
 While by ſome frantick Spirits borne along
 To mad Attempts of Violence and Wrong,
 She turn'd againſt him Faction's raging Flood,
 And ſtrove with evil Deeds to conquer Good.
 But who can number ev'ry ſandy Grain
 Waſh'd by *Sicilia's* hoarſe reſounding Main?
 Or who can *Theron's* gen'rous Works expreſs,
 And tell how many Hearts his bounteous Virtues bleſs!

" By theſe frantick Spirits the Poet and Power, they made War upon him; means *Carys* and *Hippocrates*, two Kind- and met with the due Reward of their men of *Theron*, from whom they had re- Treachery and Malice. *Theron* fought ceived many Obligations; but not being with them near *Himera*, and overthrew able to endure the Luſtre of his Glory them.



THE THIRD

OLYMPICK ODE.

This Ode is likewise inscribed to *Theron* King of *Agriгентum*, upon the Occasion of another Victory obtained by him in the Chariot Race at *Olympia*; the Date of which is unknown.

A R G U M E N T.

The Scholiast acquaints us, that as Theron was celebrating the Theoxenia, (a Festival instituted by Castor and Pollux in Honour of all the Gods) he received the News of a Victory obtained by his Chariot in the Olympick Games; from this Circumstance the Poet takes Occasion to address this Ode to those two Deities and their Sister Helena, in whose Temple, the same Scholiast informs us, some People with greatest Probability conjectured, it was sung, at a solemn Sacrifice there offered by Theron to those Deities, and to Hercules also, as may be inferred from a Passage in the third Strophe of the Translation. But there is another, and a more poetical Propriety in Pindar's invoking these Divinities, that is suggested in the Ode itself: for after mentioning the Occasion of his composing it, namely, the Olympick Victory of Theron, and saying that a triumphal Song was a Tribute due to that Person, upon whom the Hellanodick, or Judge of the Games, bestowed the sacred Olive, according to the Institution of their first Founder Hercules; he proceeds to relate the fabulous, but legendary Story, of that Hero's having brought that Plant originally from Scythia, the Country of the Hyperboreans, to Olympia; having planted it there near the Temple of Jupiter, and ordered that the Victors in those Games should, for the future, be crowned

E

with

with the Branches of this sacred Tree. To this he adds, that Hercules, upon his being moved to Heavens appointed the Twin-Brothers, Castor and Pollux, to celebrate the Olympick Games, and execute the Office of bestowing the Olive Crown upon those who obtained the Victory; and now, continues Pindar, he comes a propitious Guest to this Sacrifice of Theron, in Company with the two Sons of Leda, who, to reward the Piety and Zeal of Theron and his Family, have given them Success and Glory; to the utmost Limits of which he insinuates, that Theron is arrived, and so concludes with affirming, that it would be in vain for any Man, wise or unwise, to attempt to surpass him.

TO THERON King of Agrigentum.

STROPHÆ I.

WHILE to the Fame of *Agragas* I sing,
For Theron wake th' *Olympick* String,

And with *Aonian* Garlands grace

His Steeds unweary'd in the Race,

O may the hospitable Twins of *Jove*,^o

And bright-hair'd *Helena* the Song approve!

For this the Muse bestow'd her Aid,

As in new Measures I essay'd

To harmonize the tuneful Words,

And set to *Dorian* Airs my founding Chords.

¹ *Agragas*] The Greek Name for *Agrigentum*.

² *Helena* was Sister to *Castor* and *Pollux*, and worshipped together with them, as appears from this Passage. *Castor* and *Pollux*

are here styled *hospitable* upon account of their having instituted the *Theoxenia*, which properly implies a Festival, or Feast, to which all the Gods were invited.

ANTISTROPHE I.

And lo! the conqu'ring Steeds,³ whose tossing Heads
Olympia's verdant Wreath befpreads,
 The Muse-imparted Tribute claim,
 Due, *Theron*, to thy glorious Name;
 And bid me temper in their Master's Praise
 The Flute, the warbling Lyre, and melting Lays.
 Lo! *Pisa* too the Song requires!
Elean Pisa, that inspires
 The glowing Bard with eager Care
⁴His Heav'n-directed Present to prepare:

EPODE I.

The Present offer'd to his virtuous Fame,
 On whose ennobled Brows,
 The righteous Umpire of the sacred Game,
 , Th' *Ætolian* Judge bestows

³ *Whose tossing Heads, &c.*] That the victorious Horses, as well as the Charioteer, and the Owner of the Chariot, were honoured with an *Olympick* Crown, I have already observed in the *Dissertation*: If we suppose the victorious Horse of *Theron* to have made part of the Triumphal Procession, that upon this Occasion marched to the Temple of *Caslor* and *Pollux*, who, as the Scholiast tells us from *Ariflarcbus*, were held in great Honour at *Agrirentum*; we shall see, what I have more than once observed, that *Pindar* takes many Hints from the Circumstances of the several Countries, Temples, Solemnities, &c. in which his

Odes were to be sung. The not attending to this has probably been the Cause not only of over-looking many Beauties in this great Poet, but of charging him also with many Improprieties and Extravagances he is by no means guilty of.

⁴ *His heav'n-directed Present, &c.*] The poetical Present made to the *Olympick* Conquerors are by *Pindar* stiled *heav'n-directed* [*θεῖοι ποταί*] because, says the younger Scholiast, the Victories, which gave Occasion to them, proceed from the Direction and Appointment of Heaven.

⁵ *Th' Ætolian Judge.*] One *Oxylus* an *Ætolian* having conducted the *Heracidae*

The darksome Olive, studious to fulfill

The mighty Founder's Will.

Who this fair Ensign of *Olympick* Toil

From distant *Scythia's* fruitful Soil,

And ' *Hyperborean Ister's* woody Shore,

With fair Entreaties gain'd, to *Grecian Elis* bore.

STROPHÉ II.

The blameless Servants of the * *Delphick* God

* *Apollo.*

With Joy the valued Gift bestow'd;

Mov'd by the friendly Chief to grant,

On Terms of Peace, the sacred Plant;

when they returned into *Peloponnesus*, received from them, by way of Recompence, the Government of the *Eleans*, who from him were afterwards called *Ætilians*, as the younger Scholiast informs us. *Tb' Ætolian Judge* therefore, in this Place denotes the *Hellandick*, or President of the *Olympick* Games, who was always chosen from among the *Eleans*, as I have shewn at large in the *Dissertation*.

[*Hyperborean Ister.*] Concerning the Situation and Country of the *Hyperboreans*, there are so many inconsistent Fables among the Ancients, that the modern Geographers have given over all Hopes of reconciling them. *Pindar* here places them about the Fountains or Springs of the *Danube*, a River, in his Time, almost as little known as the *Hyperboreans*; whom, in his Tenth *Pythian* Ode, he describes as a most happy People, subject neither to Diseases nor old Age: in short, this Country was an ideal Region,

existing only in the Imagination of the Poets, who for that Reason were at Liberty to place it in what Climate, and fill it with what People and Plants they thought proper. It is therefore to no Purpose to inquire whether the Olive will grow in any Country about the *Danube*; since there are so many other Circumstances relating to the *Hyperboreans*, that will not suit with any People or any Climate of the known World. The Olive, from whence the *Olympick* Crowns were taken, was had in great Veneration by the *Eleans*, who adopted and sanctified the Tradition here mentioned by *Pindar*, as far as relates to the transplanting the Olive from the Country of the *Hyperboreans*; for the *Hercules*, to whom this is attributed, seems by *Pausanias's* Account, to have been the *Iacæan Hercules*; who was much more ancient than the *Theban Hercules* to whom *Pindar* here ascribes the Honour of this Exploit.

Destin'd

Destin'd at once to shade *Jove's* honour'd Shrine
And crown Heroick Worth with Wreaths Divine.
For now full-orb'd the wand'ring Moon
In plenitude of Brightness shone,
And on the spacious Eye of Night
Pour'd all the Radiance of her golden Light:

ANTISTROPHE II.

Now on *Jove's* Altars blaz'd the hallow'd Flames,
And now were fix'd the mighty Games,
Again, when e'er the circling Sun
Four times his annual Course had run,
Their Period to renew, and shine again
On *Alpheus'* craggy Shores and *Pisa's* Plain:
But subject all the Region lay
To the fierce Sun's insulting Ray,
While upon *Pelops'* burning Vale
No Shade arose his Fury to repell.

EPODE II.

Then traversing the Hills, whose jutting Base
Indents *Arcadia's* Meads,
To where the Virgin Goddess of the Chace
Impells her foaming Steeds,
To *Scythian Ister* he directs his Way,
Doom'd by his Father to obey

The

The rigid Pleasures of *Mycenæ's* King,
 And thence the rapid Hind to bring,
 Whom, sacred Present for the *Orithian* Maid,
 With Horns of branching Gold, *Taygeta* array'd.

STROPHE III.

There as the longsome Chace the Chief pursu'd,
 The spacious *Strybian* Plains he view'd;
 A Land beyond the chilling Blast,
 And Northern Caves of *Boreas* cast:
 There too the Groves of Olive he survey'd,
 And gaz'd with Rapture on the pleasing Shade,
 Thence by the wand'ring Hero borne
 The Goals of *Elis* to adorn.
 And now to *Theron's* sacred Feast
 With *Leda's* Twins he comes, propitious Guest!

ANTISTROPHE III.

To *Leda's* Twins (when Heav'n's divine Abodes
 He fought, and mingled with the Gods)
 He gave th' illustrious Games to hold,
 And crown the Swift, the Strong, and Bold.
 Then, Muse, to *Theron* and his House proclaim
 The joyous Tidings of Success and Fame,
 By *Leda's* Twins bestow'd to grace,
Ermenides, thy pious Race,

Who

ODE III. OF PINDAR.

39

Who mindful of Heav'n's high Behests
With strictest Zeal observe their Holy Feasts.

EPODE III.

As Water's vital Streams all Things surpass,
As Gold's all-worship'd Ore
Holds amid Fortune's Stores the highest Class;
So to that distant Shore,
To where the Pillars of *Alcides* rise,
Fame's utmost Boundaries,
Theron pursuing his successful Way,
Hath deck'd with Glory's brightest Ray
His Lineal Virtues.—Farther to attain,
Wife, and Unwife, with me despair: th' Attempt were vain.



THE FIFTH

OLYMPICK ODE.

This Ode is inscribed to *Psaumis* of *Camarina* (a Town in *Sicily*) who, in the Eighty second *Olympiad*, obtained Three Victories; one in the Race of Chariots drawn by Four Horses; a second in the Race of the *Apené*, or Chariot drawn by Mules, and a third in the Race of Single Horses.

Some People (it seems) have doubted, whether this Ode be *Pindar's*, for certain Reasons, which together with the Arguments on the other Side, the learned Reader may find in the *Oxford* Edition and others of this Author; where it is clearly proved to be genuine. But besides the Reasons there given for doubting if this Ode be *Pindar's*, there is another (though not mentioned, as I know of, by any one) may have helped to bias People in their Judgment upon this Question. I shall therefore beg leave to consider it a little, because what I shall say upon that Head, will tend to illustrate both the Meaning and the Method of *Pindar* in this Ode. In the *Greek* Editions of this Author there are Two Odes (of which this is the second) inscribed to the same *Psaumis*, and dated both in the same *Olympiad*. But they differ from each other in several Particulars, as well in the Matter as the Manner. In the Second Ode, Notice is taken of Three Victories obtained by *Psaumis*; in the First, of only One, viz. that obtained by him in the Race of Chariots drawn by Four Horses: In the Second, not only the City of *Camarina*, but the Lake of the same Name, many Rivers adjoining to it, and some Circumstances relating to the present State, and the rebuilding of that City (which had been destroyed by the *Syracusan*

cusians some Years before) are mentioned; whereas in the First, *Camarina* is barely named, as the Country of the Conqueror, and as it were out of Form: From all which I conclude, that these two Odes were composed to be sung at different Times, and in different Places. The First at *Olympia*, immediately upon *Psaumis's* being proclaimed Conqueror in the Chariot Race, and before he obtained his other two Victories. This may with great Probability be inferred as well from no mention being there made of those two Victories, as from the Prayer which the Poet subjoins immediately to his Account of the First, *viz.* that Heaven would in like Manner be favourable to the rest of the Victor's Wishes; which Prayer, though it be in general Words, and one frequently used by *Pindar* in other of his Odes, yet has a peculiar Beauty and Propriety, if taken to relate to the other Two Exercises, in which *Psaumis* was still to contend; and in which he afterwards came off victorious. That it was the Custom for a Conqueror, at the Time of his being proclaimed, to be attended by a Chorus, who sung a Song of Triumph in Honour of his Victory, I have observed in the *Dissertation* prefixed to these Odes. In the Second, there are so many Marks of its having been made to be sung at the triumphal Entry of *Psaumis* into his own Country, and those so evident, that, after this Hint given, the Reader cannot help observing them, as he goes through the Ode. I shall therefore say nothing more of them in this Place; but that they tend, by shewing for what Occasion this Ode was calculated, to confirm what I said relating to the other; and jointly with that to prove, that there is no reason to conclude from there being two Odes inscribed to the same Person, and dated in the same *Olympiad*, that the latter is not *Pindar's*, especially as it appears, both in the Style and Spirit, altogether worthy of him.

A R G U M E N T.

The Poet begins with addressing himself to Camarina, a Sea Nymph, from whom the City and Lake were both named, to bespeak a favourable Reception of his Ode, a Present which he tells her was made to her by Psaumis, who rendered her City illustrious at the Olympick Games; where having obtained Three Victories, he consecrated his Fame to Camarina, by ordering the Herald, when he proclaimed him Conqueror, to style him of that City. This he did at Olympia; but now, continues Pindar, upon his coming home, he is more particular, and inserts in his triumphal Song the Names of the principal Places and Rivers belonging to Camarina: from whence the Poet takes occasion to speak of the rebuilding of that City, which was done about this Time, and of the State of Glory, to which, out of her low and miserable Condition, she was now brought by the means of Psaumis, and by the Lustre cast on her by his Victories; Victories (says he) not to be obtained without much Labour and Expence, the usual Attendants of great and glorious Actions; but the Man who succeeded in such like Undertakings, was sure to be rewarded with the Love and Approbation of his Country. The Poet then addresses himself to Jupiter in a Prayer, beseeching him to adorn the City and State of Camarina with Virtue and Glory; and to grant to the Victor Psaumis a joyful and contented Old Age, and the Happiness of dying before his Children: after which he concludes with an Exhortation to Psaumis to be contented with his Condition; which he insinuates was as happy as that of a Mortal could be, and it was to no Purpose for him to wish to be a God.

STROPHE

STROPHE.

FAIR *Camarina*, Daughter of the Main,
 With gracious Smiles this Choral Song receive,
 Sweet Fruit of virtuous Toils! whose noble Strain
 Shall to th' *Olympick* Wreath new Lustre give:

This *Psalmis*, whom on *Alpheus*' Shore
 With unabating Speed

The harness'd Mules to Conquest bore,
 This Gift to Thee decreed;

Thee, *Camarina*, whose well-peopled Tow'rs
 Thy *Psalmis* render'd great in Fame,
 When to the ¹Twelve *Olympian* Pow'rs
 He fed with Victims the triumphal Flame.

When, the double Altars round,
 Slaughter'd Bulls bestrew'd the Ground;
 When, on ²Five selected Days,
³Four survey'd the Lifts of Praise;
 While along the dusty Course
Psalmis urg'd his straining Horse,
 Or beneath the focial Yoke
 Made the well match'd Courfers smoke;

¹ It was usual for the Conqueror to offer a Sacrifice on each of the six Altars, which were consecrated by *Hercules* to Twelve Gods, who were worshipped,

² Two at each Altar, as I have already observed in the *Dissertation*.

³ The Games began on the Eleventh Day of the Month, and ended on the Sixteenth.

Or around th' *Elean* Goal
 Taught his Mule-drawn Carr to roll.
 Then did the Victor dedicate his Fame
 To Thee,³ and bade the Herald's Voice proclaim
 Thy new-establiſh'd Walls, and *Acrion's* honour'd Name.

AN T I S T R O P H E.

But now return'd from where the pleasant Seat
⁴Once of *Oenomaus* and *Pelops* flood,
⁵Thee, *Civic* *Pallas*, and thy chaste Retreat,
 He bids me ſing, and fair *Danus's* Flood,
 And *Camarina's* ſleeping Wave,
 And thoſe ſequeſtered Shores,
 Through which the thirſty Town to lave
 Smooth flow the watry Stores
⁶Of ſilly *Hipparis*, profoundeſt Stream,
 Adown whole Wood-envelop'd Tide
 The ſolid Pile, and lofty Beam,
 Materials for the future Palace, glide.

³ *Camarina* was the Country of *Pſaumis*, and *Acrion* was his Father, both of which were conſtantly ſpecified in every Proclamation of Victory, together with the Name of the Conqueror.

⁴ *Oenomaus*, and after him *Pelops*, was King of *Elis*; ſo that by this Periphrasis the Poet means no more than that *Pſaumis* being returned from *Elis*, &c.

⁵ *Minerva* was reckoned to preſide over

all Cities, and had therefore many a Temple built to her in the Citadel, as at *Athens*, *Sparta*, and here at *Camarina*, whence ſhe was ſtyled *πολιεύχου* *Abiaa*, *Urbis Praeſes*, or *Cuſtos Minerva*, which I have tranſlated *Civic Pallas*.

⁶ This River was of great Service to the Citizens of *Camarina*, as it not only ſupplied them with Water and Fiſh in Abundance, but with a ſort of Mud,

Thus

Thus by War's rude Tempests torn,
Plung'd in Misery and Scorn,
Once again, with Pow'r array'd,
Camarina lifts her Head,
Gayly bright'ning in the Blaze,
Psammis, of thy hard-earn'd Praise.
Trouble, Care, Expence attend
Him, who labours to ascend
Where, approaching to the Skies,
Virtue holds the sacred Prize,
That tempts him to atchieve the dangerous Deed:
But, if his well-concerted Toils succeed,
His Country's just Applause shall be his glorious Meed.

E P O D E.

O *Jove*! Protector of Mankind!
O Cloud-enthroned King of Gods!
Who on the *Cronian* Mount reclin'd,
With Honour crown'd the wide stream'd Floods
Of *Alpheus*, and the solemn Gloom
Of *Ida's* Cave! to thee I come

which they used in making of Bricks; River, into which it was thrown, and by and with Timber for rebuilding their the Stream conveyed to *Camarina*, with-Town. This it seems was cut in the out the Trouble of loading it in Boats or Woods that grew upon the Banks of this Barges.

Thy

Thy Suppliant, to soft *Lydian* Reeds,
Sweet breathing forth my tuneful Pray'r,

That, grac'd with noble, valiant Deeds,
This State may prove thy Guardian Care ;

And Thou, on whose victorious Brow

Olympia bound the sacred Bough,

Thou whom *Neptunian* Steeds delight,

With Age, Content, and Quiet crown'd,

Calm may'st thou sink to endless Night,

Thy Children, *Psammis*, weeping round.

And since the Gods have giv'n thee Fame and Wealth,
Join'd with that Prime of Earthly Treasures, Health,
Enjoy the Blessings they to Man assign,
Nor fondly sigh for Happiness divine.

⁷ The Thought contained in these four
last Lines is so like one that shall be men-
tioned in the Notes upon the next Ode,

that I think it proper to refer the Reader
thither, for a fuller Illustration of it.



THE SEVENTH

OLYMPICK ODE.

This Ode is inscribed to *Diagoras*, the Son of *Damagetus*, of *Rhodes*, who, in the Seventy ninth *Olympiad*, obtained the Victory in the Exercise of the *Cæstus*.

This Ode was in such Esteem among the Ancients, that it was deposited in a Temple of *Minerva*, written in Letters of Gold.

A R G U M E N T.

The Poet begins this noble Song of Triumph with a Simile, by which he endeavours to shew his great Esteem for those who obtain the Victory in the Olympick and other Games; as also the Value of the Present, that he makes them upon that Occasion; a Present always acceptable, because Fame and Praise is that which delights all Mortals; wherefore the Muse, says he, is perpetually looking about for proper Objects to bestow it upon; and seeing the great Actions of Diagoras, takes up a Resolution of celebrating Him, the Isle of Rhodes his Country, and his Father Damagetus (according to the Form observed by the Herald in proclaiming the Conquerors; which I mentioned in the Notes upon the last Ode) Damagetus, and consequently Diagoras, being descended from Tlepolemus, who led over a Colony of Grecians from Argos to Rhodes, where he settled, and obtained the Dominion of that Island. From Tlepolemus, therefore, Pindar declares he will deduce his Song; which he addresses to all the Rhodians in common with Diagoras, who were descended from Tlepolemus, or from those Grecians that came over with him; that is, almost all the People of

Rhodes,

Rhodes, who indeed are as much (if not more) interested in the greatest Part of this Ode, as Diagoras the Conqueror. Pindar accordingly relates the Occasion of Tlepolemus's coming to Rhodes, which he tells us was in Obedience to an Oracle, that commanded him to seek out that Island; which, instead of telling us its Name, Pindar, in a more poetical Manner, characterises by relating of it some Legendary Stories (if I may so speak) that were peculiar to the Isle of Rhodes; such as the Golden Shower, and the Occasion of Apollo's abusing that Island for himself; both which Stories he relates at large with such a Flame of Poetry, as shews his Imagination to have been extremely heated and elevated with his Subjects. Neither does he seem to cool in the short Account that he gives, in the next Place, of the Passion of Apollo for the Nymph Rhodos, from whom the Island received its Name, and from whom were descended its original Inhabitants (whom just before the Poet therefore called the Sons of Apollo) and particularly the three Brothers, Camirus, Lindus, and Jalyfus; who divided that Country into three Kingdoms, and built the three principal Cities, which retained their Names. In this Island Tlepolemus (says the Poet, returning to the Story of that Hero) found Rest, and a Period to all his Misfortunes, and at length grew into such Esteem with the Rhodians, that they worshipped him as a God, appointing Sacrifices to him, and instituting Games in his Honour. The Mention of those Games naturally brings back the Poet to Diagoras, and gives him Occasion, from the Two Victories obtained by Diagoras in those Games, to enumerate all the Prizes won by that famous Conqueror in all the Games of Greece: after which Enumeration he begs of Jupiter, in a solemn Prayer, to grant Diagoras the Love of his Country, and the Admiration of all the World, as a Reward for the many Virtues for which he and his Family had always been distinguished, and for which their Country had so often triumphed: and then, as if he had been a Witness of the extravagant Transports of the Rhodians (to which, not the Festival only occasioned by the triumphal Entry of their Country-

man,

man, and the Glory reflected upon them by his Victories, but much more the flattering and extraordinary Eulogiums bestowed upon the whole Nation in this Ode, might have given Birth) the Poet on a sudden changes his Hand, and checks their Pride by a moral Reflection on the Vicissitude of Fortune, with which he exhorts them to Moderation, and so concludes.

HEROICK STANZAS.

I.

AS when a Father in the golden Vase,
The Pride and Glory of his wealthy Stores,
Bent his lov'd Daughter's nuptial Torch to grace,
The Vineyard's purple Dews profusely pours ;

II.

Then to his Lips the foaming Chalice rears,
With Blessings hallow'd and auspicious Vows,
And mingling with the Draught transporting Tears,
On the young Bridegroom the rich Gift bestows ;

III.

The precious Earnest of Esteem sincere,
Of friendly Union and connubial Love:
The bridal Train the sacred Pledge revere,
And round the Youth in frightly Measures move.

G

IV. He

IV.

He to his Home the valu'd Present bears,
 The Grace and Ornament of future Feasts;
 Where, as his Father's Bounty he declares,
 Wonder shall seize the gratulating Guests.

V.

Thus on the Valiant, on the Swift, and Strong,
Cassalia's genuine Nectar I bestow;
 And pouring forth the Muse-descended Song,
 Bid to their Praises the rich Numbers flow.

VI.

Grateful to them resounds th' harmonick Ode,
 The Gift of Friendship and the Pledge of Fame.
 Happy the Mortal, whom th' *Aonian* God
 Cheers with the Musick of a glorious Name!

VII.

The Muse her piercing Glances throws around,
 And quick discovers ev'ry worthy Deed:
 And now she wakes the Lyre's enchanting Sound,
 Now fills with various Strains the vocal Reed:

I

VIII. But

VIII.

But here each Instrument of Song divine,
 The vocal Reed and Lyre's enchanting String
 She tunes, and bids their Harmony combine
 Thee, and thy *Rhodes*, *Diagoras*, to sing;

IX.

Thee and thy Country¹ native of the Flood,
 Which from bright *Rhodes* draws her honour'd Name,
 Fair Nymph, whose Charms subdu'd the *Delphick* God,
 Fair blooming Daughter of the *Cyprian* Dame:

X.

To sing thy Triumphs in th' *Olympick* Sand,
 Where *Alpheus* saw thy² Giant Temples crown'd;
 Fam'd *Pythia* too proclaim'd thy conqu'ring Hand,
 Where sweet³ *Cassalia*'s mystick Currents found.

¹ This, and the other Particulars mentioned in this Stanza, will be farther explained by *Pindar* himself, in the Sequel of this Ode, of which he hath given us a kind of Summary, or short Contents, so that I shall detain the Reader no longer than to tell him, that there are different Genealogies of the Nymph *Rhodes*, whom *Pindar* makes the Daughter of *Venus*, and Confort of the Sun; for which latter, those who would allegorize all the Fables of the Ancients, give for a Reason, that there is no Day in the Year so cloudy,

that the Sun does not shine upon that Island.

² The Epithet of Giant belongs very justly to *Diagoras*, who was Six Feet Five Inches high, as shall be shewn in the last Note upon this Ode.

³ *Cassalia* is a River that runs at the Foot of Mount *Parnassus*, sacred to the Muses, whose Murmurs were esteemed to be oraculous. Upon the Banks of this River the *Pythian* Games were celebrated.

XI.

Nor, *Damagetus*, will I pass unsung
 Thy Sire, the Friend of Justice and of Truth;
 From noble Ancestors whose Lineage sprung,
 The Chiefs who led to *Rhodes* the *Argive* Youth.

XII.

There near to *Asia's* wide-extended Strand,
 Where jutting ⁴ *Embolus* the Waves divides,
⁵ In three Divisions they possess'd the Land,
 Enthron'd amid the hoarse-resounding Tides.

⁴ The Name of a Temple, or rather of a Promontory in *Lycia*, so called from its running out into the Sea, like the Head or Beak of a Ship.

⁵ Before *Tlepolemus*, the Son of *Hercules*, led a Colony of *Grecians* to *Rhodes*, that Island was inhabited by the Children of the Sun, or *Apollo*, and the Nymph *Rhodos*, as we learn in this very Ode; so that there were two sorts of Inhabitants of two different Races in this Island, both of which the Poet has the Address to interest in this Song of Triumph, by taking occasion from the Oracle delivered to *Tlepolemus*, to insert several Stories in Honour of the Old *Rhodians*, at the same Time that he seems to apply himself more particularly to the Descendants of *Tlepolemus*, and the *Argives*, who indeed were more nearly concerned, as they were originally of the same Race and Country with the

Conqueror *Diagoras*. It will be necessary, for the better understanding the Order and Connection of the several Parts of this Ode, for the Reader to carry in his Memory this Distinction of the Two Races of Inhabitants, that at different Times composed the People of *Rhodes*. The Division of that Island into Three Districts seems to have been as old as the building of the Three Cities, *Lindus*, *Ialyssus*, and *Camirus*, said by *Pindar* to have been built by the three Brothers, whose Names they bore: but *D. Siculus* makes *Tlepolemus* the Author of that Division, and the Founder of those three Cities. The History of *Tlepolemus*, (as far as it relates to the present Ode) is so fully told by *Pindar* himself, that it is needless to add any thing to it.

XIII. To

XIII.

To their Defendants will I tune my Lyre,
The Offspring of *Alcides* bold and strong,
And from *Telephus*, their common Sire,
Deduce the national historick Song.

XIV.

Telephus of great *Alcides* came,
The Fruits of fair *Aphydameia's* Love,
Jove-born *Amyntor* got the *Argive* Dame:
So either Lineage is deriv'd from *Jove*.

XV.

But wrapt in Error is the human Mind,
And human Bliss is ever infecure:
Know we what Fortune yet remains behind?
Know we how long the present shall endure?

XVI.

For lo! the * Founder of the *Rhodian* State,
Who from *Saturnian Jove* his Being drew,
While his fell Bosom swell'd with vengeful Hate,
The Bastard-brother of *Alcmena* flew.

* *Telephus*.

XVII. With

XVII.

With his rude Mace, in fair *Tiryntha's* Walls,
Tlepolemus inflicts the horrid Wound:
 Ev'n at his Mother's Door *Licymnius* falls,
 Yet warm from her Embrace, and bites the Ground.

XVIII.

Passion may oft the wisest Heart surprize:
 Conscious and trembling for the murder'd Deed,
 To *Delphi's* Oracle the Hero flies,
 Sollicitous to learn what Heav'n decreed.

XIX.

Him bright-hair'd *Phæbus*, from his od'rous Fane,
 Bade set his flying Sails from *Lerna's* Shore,
 And, in the Bosom of the Eastern Main,
 That Sea-girt Region hasten to explore;

⁶ That Sea-girt Region bade him strait
 explore;
 That blissful Island, where a wondrous
 Cloud

Once rain'd, at Jove's Command, a golden
 Shower.]

From the Mention of this Golden
 Shower, *Pindar* starts into a particular
 Relation of that and some other Fables,
 if not invented, yet improved by him,
 in Honour of the *Rhodians*. These
 Fables, I say, were improved in all likeli-

hood, if not invented by *Pindar*; for al-
 though that Part of the Story, in which
 we are told that the *Rhodians* were by
 their Father the Sun acquainted with the
 Birth of *Minerva*, and ordered to sacri-
 fice to her immediately, be, as *Diad. Sic.*
informs us, mentioned by the Historians,
 who treat of the Antiquities of *Rhodes*,
 and that Circumstance of the *Rhodians*
 forgetting in their Hurry to put Fire un-
 der their Victims, be, as the same Author
 tells us, authenticated by a peculiar Cere-

XX. That

XX.

That blissful Island, where a wondrous Cloud

Once rain'd, at *Jove's* Command, a Golden Show'r;

What Time, assisted by the *Lemnian* God,

The King of Heav'n brought forth the Virgin Pow'r.

XXI.

By *Vulcan's* Art the Father's teeming Head

Was open'd wide, and forth impetuous sprung,

And shouted fierce and loud, the Warrior Maid:

Old Mother Earth and Heav'n affrighted rung.

XXII.

Then *Hyperion's* Son, pure Fount of Day,

Did to his Children the strange Tale reveal:

He warn'd them shun the Sacrifice to slay,

And worship the young Pow'r with earliest Zeal.

mony used in his Time in *Rhodes* in their sacred Mysteries, viz. the laying the Victim upon the Altar before the Fire is laid on; yet he seems to have had no better Authority for the Golden Shower, than a figurative Expression used by *Homer*, to denote the flourishing State of *Rhodes* in the Time of *Tlepolemus*. II. 2.

Καὶ οὖν Σικελίῳ ἀνέτορ κατίχθυσ Κρονίῳ.

Jove poured down upon them immense Riches. In like Manner, what he says of *Minerva's* having upon this Occasion bestowed upon the *Rhodians* the Knowledge of all Kinds of Arts, particularly Statuary, is no other than a poetical Compliment to them upon their known Excellence in that Art, which from them was called the *Rhodian* Art.

XXIII. So

XXIII.

So would they sooth the mighty Father's Mind,
Pleas'd with the Honours to his Daughter paid;
And so propitious ever would they find
Minerva, warlike, formidable Maid.

XXIV.

On staid Precaution, vigilant and wife,
True Virtue, and true Happinels depend;
But oft Oblivion's dark'ning Clouds arise,
And from the destin'd Scope our Purpose bend.

XXV.

The *Rhodians*, mindful of their Sire's Behest,
Strait in the Citadel an Altar rear'd;
But with imperfect Rites the Pow'r address'd,
And without Fire their Sacrifice prepar'd.

XXVI.

Yet *Jove* approving o'er th' Assembly spread
A yellow Cloud, that drop'd with golden Dews;
While in their op'ning Hearts the blue-ey'd Maid
Deign'd her Celestial Science to infuse.

XXVII. Thence

XXVII.

Thence in all Arts the Sons of *Rhodes* excel,
 Tho' best their forming Hands the Chiffel guide;
 This in each Street the breathing Marbles tell,
 The Stranger's Wonder, and the City's Pride.

XXVIII.

'Great Praise the Works of *Rhodian* Artists find,
 Yet to their heav'nly Mistress much they owe;
 Since Art and Learning cultivate the Mind,
 And make the Seeds of Genius quicker grow.

XXIX.

'Some say, that when by Lot th'immortal Gods
 With *Jove* these earthly Regions did divide,
 All undiscover'd lay *Phœbean Rhodes*,
 Whelm'd deep beneath the salt *Carpæbian* Tide;

⁷ The Words of the Original in this Place are so obscure, that the Commentators are not agreed upon the Sense of them. The Interpretation I have put upon them is agreeable to the old Scholiast, and is rendered by *Horace*, the constant Imitator of this Author, in the following Verses,

*Doctrina sed vim prominet instam,
 Rectique cultus pectora reborant.*

⁸ This Fable of *Apollo's* chusing for his

Portion the Island of *Rhodes*, even while it yet lay at the Bottom of the Sea, was probably an Invention of *Pindar* himself, founded upon an old Tradition which *Diod. Sic.* relates, viz. That the *Telchines*, the first Inhabitants of *Rhodes*, foreseeing an Inundation, forsook the Island, and were dispersed and scattered abroad. When the Flood came, it rose so high, that, besides destroying those that remained in the Island, all the flat and champion Part of the Country (with Showers

H

XXX. That,

XXX.

That, absent on his Course, the God of Day
 By all the heav'nly Synod was forgot,
 Who, his incessant Labours to repay,
 Nor Land nor Sea to *Phæbus* did allot;

XXXI.

That *Jove* reminded would again renew
 Th' unjust Partition, but the God deny'd;
 And said, Beneath yon hoary Surge I view
 An Isle emerging thro' the briny Tide:

that poured down continually) was like a standing Pool of Water: Some few that fled to the higher Ground were preserved, amongst whom were the Sons of *Jupiter*. But *Sol* (as the Story is) falling in Love with *Rhoda*, called the Island after her Name *Rhodes*, and cleared the Island of the Inundation: But the Truth (continues he) couched in the Fable is this: In the first Generation of all Things, when the Island lay in Mud and Dirt, the Sun dried up the Moisture, and made the Land productive of living Creatures; whence sprang the Seven *Heliades*, so called from the Sun [in Greek *Helios*] and other Men, the original Inhabitants. And hence it is that they account the Island to be consecrated to the Sun, and the *Rhodians* in After-times constantly worshipped the Sun above all other Gods, as the Parent from whence they first sprang.

• By comparing this Account given us by *Diodorus*, with the pompous Fable formed upon it by *Pindar*, one may see how

much of the Mythology of the *Greeks* was owing to the Invention of their Poets. That of *Pindar* in the Passage before us is truly great and noble. *Apollo's* discovering the Island while it lay as yet buried under the Waters of the Sea, and his foretelling the flourishing Condition to which it should afterwards arrive, are Circumstances every way suiting the Character of the Source of Light, and the great Seer of Heaven; as his demanding that Island for his Portion, preferable to any other Region that might fall to his Share in a new Allotment of the Kingdoms of the Earth offered him by *Jupiter*; and his requiring the Fates to ratify the Donation of it to him by an Oath, always deemed inviolable, are Strokes of the finest Flattery; so much the more pleasing to the *Rhodians*, as they corresponded exactly with the particular Worship paid by them to *Apollo*, and the Belief of their being his chosen and peculiar People.

XXXII. A

XXXII.

A Region pregnant with the fertile Seed
Of Plants, and Herbs, and Fruits, and foodful Grain;
Each verdant Hill unnumber'd Flocks shall feed;
Unnumber'd Men possess each flow'ry Plain.

XXXIII.

Then strait to *Lachesis* he gave Command,
Who binds in Golden Cauls her Jetty Hair;
He bade the fatal Sifter stretch her Hand,
And by the *Stygian* Rivers bade her swear;

XXXIV.

Swear to confirm the Thunderer's Decree,
Which to his Rule that fruitful Island gave,
When from the ouzy Bottom of the Sea
Her Head she rear'd above the *Lycian* Wave.

XXXV.

The fatal Sifter swore, nor swore in vain;
Nor did the Tongue of *Delphi's* Prophet err;
Up-sprung the blooming Island through the Main;
And *Jove* on *Phœbus* did the Boon confer.

XXXVI.

In this fam'd Isle, the radiant Sire of Light,
 The God whose Reins the fiery Steeds obey,
 Fair *Rhodos* saw, and, kindling at the Sight,
 Seiz'd, and by Force enjoy'd the beauteous Prey :

XXXVII.

From whose divine Embraces sprung a Race
 Of Mortals, wisest of all Human-kind;
 Seven Sons, endow'd with ev'ry noble Grace;
 The noble Graces of a sapient Mind.

XXXVIII.

Of these *Lalysus* and *Lindus* came,
 Who with *Camirus* shar'd the *Rhodian* Lands;
 Apart they reign'd, and sacred to his Name
 Apart each Brother's Royal City stands.

XXXIX.

Here a secure Retreat from all his Woes

* *Astydameia's* hapless Offspring found;

* *Tlepolemus.*

Here, like a God in undisturb'd Repose,

And like a God with heav'nly Honours crown'd,

⁹ *Tlepolemus* becoming King of the of *Troy*, where he was slain by *Sarpedon*.
Rhodians led a Body of them to the Siege But the *Rhodians* out of Regard to his

XL.

His Priests and blazing Altars he surveys,
 And Hecatombs, that feed the od'rous Flame;
 With Games, Memorial of his deathless Praise;
 Where twice, *Diagoras*, unmatch'd in Fame,

XLI.

Twice on thy Head the livid Poplar shone,
 Mix'd with the darksome Pine, that binds the Brows
 Of *Isthmian* Victors, and the *Nemean* Crown,
 And ev'ry Palm that *Attica* bestows.

XLII.

Diagoras th' *Arcadian* Vase obtain'd;
Argos to him adjudg'd her Brazen Shield;
 His mighty Hands the *Theban* Tripod gain'd,
 And bore the Prize from each *Beotian* Field.

Memory, as their King and the Founder
 of their State, brought his Bones back
 with them to *Rhodes*; where they also e-
 rected a Temple to him, and appointed an
 anniversary Celebration of Games in
 his Honour, the Prize in which was a
 Chaplet of white Poplar. The Mention
 of these Games brings *Pindar* back again
 to the Hero of this Ode, *Diagoras*; a
 List of whose Victories he here gives us,
 beginning with the Two obtained by
 him in his own Country, *Rhodes*, and

ending with those, which he had gained
 at *Megara*, which were so many, says *Pin-*
dar, that there was no other Name, but
 that of *Diagoras*, to be seen upon the
 Column, upon which, according to the
 Custom of that City, the Names of the
 Conquerors were engraved. He had be-
 fore mentioned his *Pythian* and *Olympick*
 Victories. The Vase, the Brazen Shield,
 the Tripod, and the Robe, were all Prizes
 bestowed upon the Conquerors in the feve-
 ral Games here mentioned by *Pindar*.

XLIII.

Six Times in rough *Ægina* he prevail'd;
 As oft *Pellene's* Robe of Honour won;
 And still at *Megara* in vain assail'd,
 He with his Name hath fill'd the Victor's Stone.

XLIV.

¹⁰ O Thou, who, high on *Atabyrius* thron'd,
 Seest from his Summits all this happy Isle,
 By thy Protection be my Labours crown'd;
 Vouchsafe, *Saturnius*, on my Verse to smile!

XLV.

And grant to him, whose Virtue is my Theme,
 Whose valiant Heart th' *Olympick* Wreaths proclaim,
 At Home his Country's Favour and Esteem,
 Abroad, eternal, universal Fame.

XLVI.

For well to thee *Diagoras* is known;
 Ne'er to Injustice have his Paths declin'd;
 Nor from his Sires degenerates the Son;
 Whose Precepts and Examples fire his Mind.

¹⁰ *Atabyrius* was a Mountain in *Rhodes*, on the Top of which was a Temple of *Jupiter*.

XLVII.

"Then from Obscurity preferve a Race,
 Who to their Country Joy and Glory give;
 Their Country, that in them views ev'ry Grace,
 Which from their great Forefathers they receive.

XLVIII.

Yet as the Gales of Fortune various blow,
 To-day tempestuous, and To-morrow fair,
 Due Bounds, ye *Rhodians*, let your Transports know;
 Perhaps To-morrow comes a Storm of Care.

"*Diagoras* himself lived to see this his Two Sons *Damagetus* and *Ausilius* Prayer of his Poet accomplished in the to the *Olympick* Games, and both the Glory of his Children. His Three Sons young Men having been proclaimed Conquers, he was carried on the Shoulders of his Two victorious Sons through the midst of that great Assembly of the *Greeks*, who showered down Flowers upon him as he passed along, congratulating him upon the Glory of his Sons. Some Authors (adds Mr. Bayle) say, he was so transported upon this Occasion, that he died of Joy. But this Account he rejects as false, for Reasons which may be seen at large in the Notes upon this Article. *Tully* and *Plutarch*, alluding to this Story of *Diagoras*, add, that a *Spartan* coming up to him said, "Now die, *Diagoras*," "for thou canst not climb to Heaven."

Mr. Bayle in his Dictionary has an Article upon this *Diagoras*, in which he relates from *Pausanias* a famous Story of him, viz. That *Diagoras* having attended

Which Mr. Bayle paraphrases in this Manner: "You are arrived, *Diagoras*, "at the highest Pitch of Glory you can "aspire to, for you must not flatter your-

self,

“ self, that if you lived longer you should
 “ ascend to Heaven. Die then, that you
 “ may not run the Risk of a Fall.”
 Which is certainly the meaning of this
 famous Saying of the *Spartan*. *Pindar*
 concludes his Ode to *Psaumis*, with an
 Exhortation founded upon a Way of Rea-
 soning so like this of the *Spartans*, that
 I am inclined to think one may have been
 borrowed from the other.

In the *Greek* Notes upon the Title of
 this Ode, this Story of *Diagoras* is related

with this Difference from *Pausanias* : the
 Persons there said to have taken *Diagoras*
 upon their Shoulders, seem not to have
 been the Sons of *Diagoras*, but his Grand-
 children, the Sons of one of his Sons,
 who by the same Author are represented
 as having gained each of them an *Olympick*
 Crown upon the same Day with their
 Father. Of this Mr. *Bayle* takes no No-
 tice, though he has extracted several
 Particulars concerning *Diagoras* out of
 this very Ode.



THE ELEVENTH

OLYMPICK ODE.

This Ode is inscribed to *Agefidamus* of *Locris*, who, in the Seventy fourth *Olympiad*, obtained the Victory in the Exercise of the *Cællus*, and in the Class of Boys.

The preceding Ode in the Original is inscribed to the same Person; and in that we learn, that *Pindar* had for a long time promised *Agefidamus* an Ode upon his Victory; which he at length paid him, acknowledging himself to blame for having been so long in his Debt. To make him some amends for having delayed *Payment* so long, he sent him by way of *Interest* together with the preceding Ode, which is of some length, the short one that is here translated, and which in the Greek Title is for that reason styled *ῥέκυον* or *Interest*.

A R G U M E N T:

The Poet, by two Comparisons, with which he begins his Ode, insinuates how acceptable to successful Merit those Songs of Triumph are, which give Stability and Duration to their Fame: then declaring that these Songs are due to the Olympick Conquerors, he proceeds to celebrate the Victory of Agefidamus, and the Praises of the Locrians, his Countrymen, whom he commends for their having been always reputed a brave, wise, and hospitable Nation; from whence he insinuates, that their Virtues being hereditary and innate, there was no more likelihood of their departing from them, than there was of the Fox and the Lion's changing their Natures.

STROPHE.

TO wind-bound Mariners most welcome blow
 The breezy Zephyrs thro' the whistling Shrouds;
 Most welcome to the thrifty Mountains flow
 Soft Show'rs, the pearly Daughters of the Clouds;
 And when on virtuous Toils the Gods bestow
 Success, most welcome found mellifluous Odes,
 Whose Numbers ratify the Voice of Fame,
 And to illustrious Worth insure a lasting Name.

ANTISTROPHE.

Such Fame, superior to the hostile Dart
 Of canker'd Envy, *Pisa's* Chiefs attends.
 Fain would my Muse th' immortal Boon impart,
 Th' immortal Boon which from high Heav'n descends.
 And now inspir'd by Heav'n thy valiant Heart,
Agesiadamus, she to Fame commends:
 Now adds the Ornament of tuneful Praise,
 And decks thy Olive Crown with sweetly-sounding Lays.

EPODE.

But while thy bold Achievements I rehearse,
 Thy youthful Victory in *Pisa's* Sand,
 With thee partaking in the friendly Verse
 Not unregarded shall thy *Locris* stand.

Locris] There were three Colonies of *Locrians*, one of which was in *Italy*.
 Then

Then haste, ye Muses, join the Choral Band
 Of festive Youths upon the *Locrian* Plain;
 To an unciviliz'd and savage Land
 Think not I now invite your Virgin Train,
 Where barb'rous Ignorance and foul Disdain
 Of social Virtue's hospitable Lore
 Prompts the unmanner'd and inhuman Swain
 To drive the Stranger from his churlish Door.
 A Nation shall ye find, renown'd of yore
 For martial Valour and for worthy Deeds;
 Rich in a vast and unexhausted Store
 Of innate Wisdom,² whose prolifick Seeds
 Spring in each Age. So Nature's Laws require:
 And the great Laws of Nature ne'er expire.
 Unchang'd the Lion's valiant Race remains,
 And all his Father's Wiles the youthful Fox retains.

called, from their western Situation, the and abrupt to an *English* Reader, and *Epizephyrian Locrians*, the People here for that Reason have endeavoured to draw out and open the Sense of *Pindar*,

² The Thought contained in these three Verses is rather hinted, than expressed in the Original: But how beautiful, or rather how excusable soever such a Concieness may appear in the *Greek* Language; I was afraid the literal Translation of this Passage would seem too harsh

in this and the two following Verses: a Liberty which a Translator of this Author must sometimes take with him, if he would render his Translation intelligible, or at least palatable to the generality of Readers.



THE TWELFTH

OLYMPICK ODE.

This Ode is inscribed to *Ergoteles* the Son of *Philaros* of *Himera*, who, in the Seventy seventh Olympiad, gained the Prize in the Foot Race called *Dolichos* or the Long Course.

A R G U M E N T.

Ergoteles was originally of *Crete*, but being driven from thence by the Fury of a prevailing Faction, he retired to *Himera*, a Town of Sicily, where he was honourably received, and admitted to the Freedom of the City; after which he had the Happiness to obtain, what the Greeks esteemed the highest Pitch of Glory, the Olympick Crown. *Pausanias* says he gained two Olympick Crowns; and the same Number in each of the other three Sacred Games, the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean. From these remarkable Vicissitudes of Fortune in the Life of *Ergoteles*, *Pindar* takes Occasion to address himself to that powerful Directress of all human Affairs, imploring her Protection for *Himera*, the adopted Country of *Ergoteles*. Then, after describing in general Terms the universal Influence of that Deity upon all the Actions of Mankind, the Uncertainty of Events, and the Vanity of Hope, ever fluctuating in Ignorance and Error, he assigns a Reason for that Vanity, viz. That the Gods have not given to mortal Men any certain Evidence of their future Fortunes, which often happen to be the very Reverse both of their Hopes and Fears. Thus, says he, it happened to *Ergoteles*, whose very Misfortunes were to him the Occasion of Happiness and Glory; since, had he not been banished from his Country, he had probably passed his Life in Obscurity

and wrestled in domestic Broils and Quarrels that Strength and Activity, which his more peaceful Situation at Himera enabled him to improve, and employ for the obtaining the Olympick Crown.

This Ode, one of the shortest, is, at the same time, in its Order and Connection, the clearest and most compact of any to be met with in Pindar.

STROPHE.

DAUGHTER of Eleutherian Jove,
To thee my Supplications I prefer!
For potent *Himera* my Suit I move;
Protectress Fortune, hear!

After the Victory obtained at *Plataea* by the *Grecians* over *Mardonius*, the General of *Xerxes*, the *Greeks*, to commemorate their Delivery from that terrible Attack upon their Liberty, erected a Temple to *Jupiter*, called upon that Occasion *Eleutherios*, or the Guardian of Liberty. Why *Pindar* styles Fortune the Daughter of *Eleutherian Jupiter*, I cannot guess, unless it be to insinuate, that Liberty is the true Source of Prosperity. Some say, that by making Fortune the Daughter of *Jupiter*, *Pindar* means to let us know, that what we Mortals, ignorant of the true Causes of all Events, style Fortune, is really and truly the directing Providence of Heaven. I could easily admit of this Interpretation, had the Poet called Fortune simply the Daughter of *Jupiter*; but I am apt to believe, that by adding the Epithet *Eleutherian* to *Jupiter*, he alluded to some particular Circumstance in the Worship or Mythology of that Goddess, unknown to us; to some Altar, or perhaps Statue, erected to her in the Temple of *Eleutherian Jove*;

as such kinds of Allusions are frequently to be met with in this Poet. And indeed, upon farther Reflection, I cannot help supposing that the People of *Himera*, in imitation of the *Grecians*, who erected a Temple to *Eleutherian Jupiter*, as is said above, erected also a Temple to Fortune at *Himera*, in Memory of the famous Victory obtained by *Gelo* over the *Carthaginians*; who, by Virtue of an Alliance with the *Persians*, attacked at the same time the *Greeks* settled in *Sicily*, and were entirely routed, and all cut to Pieces, near this very City of *Himera*. See *Diad. Sic.* l. 11. and the Notes on the first *Pyth. Ode*. In this Victory Fortune had certainly as great a Hand, as in any almost that was ever known; since it was chiefly owing to a lucky Circumstance, and the happy Success of a Stratagem of *Gelo*; the *Carthaginian* Army being vastly superior to his. I say, I cannot help thinking it probable, that the People of *Himera* erected upon this Occasion a Temple, or at least a Statue, to Fortune, whom they might style the Daughter

Thy

Thy Deity along the pathless Main
 In her wild Course the rapid Vessel guides;
 Rules the fierce Conflict on th' embattled Plain,
 And in deliberating States presides.

Toss'd by th' uncertain Gale
 On the Seas of Error fail
 Human Hopes, now mounting high
 On the swelling Surge of Joy;
 Now with unexpected Woe
 Sinking to the Depths below.

ANTISTROPHE.

For sure Prefage of Things to come
 None yet on Mortals have the Gods bestow'd;
 Nor of Futurity's impervious Gloom
 Can Wisdom pierce the Cloud.
 Oft our most sanguine Views th' Event deceives,
 And veils in sudden Grief the smiling Ray:
 Oft, when with Woe the mournful Bosom heaves,
 Caught in a Storm of Anguish and Dismay,

of Eleutherian *Jove*, to denote the particular *Deliverance* they intended thereby to commemorate; a *Deliverance* from the same Danger and the same Enemy, as threatened their Allies and Brethren in *Greece*. Upon this Supposition Fortune is very properly styled the *Daughter of Eleutherian Jupiter*, as importing the directing Providence of that supreme Deity, who delivered the *Greeks* from Slavery, according to the allegorical Interpretation above-

mentioned. Whether the four following Verses, *Thy Deity along the pathless Main*, &c. may not contain some Allusions to some remarkable Events of those Times, I will not determine. It is plain, however, from *Pindar's* first *Pyth. Ode*, that there was a Naval Victory obtained over the *Carthaginians*, perhaps no less extraordinary than that gained by *Gelo* at Land; a *Rudder*, however, is an Emblem commonly given to Fortune upon Medals, &c.

Pas some fleeting Moments by,
All at once the Tempests fly:
Instant shifts the clouded Scene;

Heav'n renews its Smiles serene;
And on Joy's untroubled Tides
Smooth to Port the Vessel glides.

E P O D E.

* Son of *Philaror*! in the secret Shade

* *Ergoteles*.

Thus had thy Speed unknown to Fame decay'd;

Thus, like the † crested Bird of *Mars*, at home † The Cock.

Engag'd in foul domestick Jars,

And wasted with intestine Wars,

Inglorious hadst thou spent thy vigorous Bloom;

Had not Sedition's Civil Broils

Expell'd thee from thy native *Crete*,

And driv'n thee with more glorious Toils

Th' *Olympick* Crown in *Pisa*'s Plain to meet.

With Olive now, with *Pythian* Laurels grac'd,

And the dark Chaplets of the *Isthmian* Pine,

In *Himera*'s adopted City plac'd,

To all, *Ergoteles*, thy Honours shine,

And raise her Lustre by imparting Thine.

[†] In *Himera*'s adopted City] *Ergoteles*, as I he caus'd himself, upon his obtaining the said before, was originally of *Crete*. But flying from thence, he was honourably entertained at *Himera*, and admitted to the Freedom of the City; in return for which Favour

THE FOURTEENTH

OLYMPICK ODE.

This Ode is inscribed to *Asopichus*, the Son of *Cleodemus* of *Orchomenus*; who, in the Seventy sixth Olympiad, gained the Victory in the simple Foot-Race, and in the Class of Boys.

A R G U M E N T.

Orchomenus, a City of *Boeotia*, and the Country of the Victor *Asopichus*, being under the Protection of the Graces, her Tutelary Deities, to them *Pindar* addresses this Ode; which was probably sung in the very Temple of those Goddesses, at a Sacrifice offered by *Asopichus* on occasion of his Victory. The Poet begins this Invocation with styling the Graces Queens of *Orchomenus*, and Guardians of the Children of *Minyas*, the first King of that City; whose fertile Territories, he says, were by *Lot* assigned to their Protection. Then, after describing in general the Properties and Operations of these Deities, both in Earth and Heaven, he proceeds to call upon each of them by Name to assist at the singing of this Ode; which was made, he tells them, to celebrate the Victory of *Asopichus*, in the Glory of which *Orchomenus* had her Share. Then addressing himself to *Echo*, a Nymph that formerly resided on the Banks of *Cephissus*, a River of that Country, he charges her to repair to the Mansion of *Proserpine*, and impart to *Cleodemus*, the Father of *Asopichus* (who from hence appears to have been dead at that Time) the happy News of his Son's Victory, and so concludes.

MONOSTROPHAIK.

STROPHE I.

YE Pow'rs, o'er all the flow'ry Meads,
Where deep *Cepheus* rolls his lucid Tide,
Allotted to preside,

And haunt the Plains renown'd for beauteous Steeds,
Queens of *Orchomenus* the fair,
And sacred Guardians of the ancient Line
Of *Minyas* divine,

Hear, O ye Graces, and regard my Pray'r!

All that's sweet and pleasing here
Mortals from your Hands receive:
Splendor ye and Fame confer,

Genius, Wit, and Beauty give.

Nor, without your shining Train,

Ever on th' Ætherial Plain

In harmonious Measures move

The Celestial Choirs above;

When the figur'd Dance they lead,

Or the Nectar'd Banquet spread.

But with Thrones immortal grac'd,

And by *Pythian Phœbus* plac'd,

¹ By *Pythian Phœbus plac'd*,] *Pindar*, these Goddesses placed in the Temple of
in this Passage, alludes to some Statues of *Delphi*, near the Statue of *Apollo*. *Apollo*

Ord'ring thro' the blest Abodes
 All the splendid Works of Gods,
 Sit the Sisters in a Ring,
 Round the golden-shafted King:
 And with reverential Love
 Worshipping th' *Olympian* Throne,
 The Majestick Brow of *Jove*
 With unfading Honours crown.

STROPHÉ II.

Aglaia, graceful Virgin, hear!
 And thou, *Euphrosyna*, whose Ear
 Delighted listens to the warbled Strain!
 Bright Daughters of *Olympian Jove*,
 The Best, the Greatest Pow'r above;
² With your illustrious Presence deign

in some Pictures was represented as holding the Graces in his Right Hand, and his Bow and Arrows in his Left; to signify, says *Macrobius*, that the Divinity is more inclined to save, than to destroy. The Allegory contained in this beautiful Passage of *Pindar*, is as noble and sublime, as any to be met with in all Antiquity.

² From this Passage, and some Expressions up and down this Ode, I conclude it was sung in the Temple of the Graces (as I said in the Argument) at the Time when *Asopichus*, having entered *Orchomenus* in Triumph, was come to return Thanks to those Goddesses, by whose Af-

sistance, as *Pindar* says in this very Ode, he and his Country *Orchomenus* had obtained the Honour of an *Olympick* Victory. I look upon this Ode, therefore, as a kind of Hymn or Thanksgiving Song; in which Light if we consider it, we shall not be surprized to find so little mention made of *Asopichus*, on the Occasion of whose Victory it was composed. The not knowing, or not reflecting upon such Circumstances as these, as well as a thousand others, of Places, Times, and Persons, has, I am persuaded, caused *Pindar* to be charged more than he ought to have been, with Obscurity, digressing too long, and wandering

To

To grace our Choral Song!
 Whose Notes to Victory's glad Sound
 In wanton Measures lightly bound.

Thalia, come along!

Come, tuneful Maid! for lo! my String
 With meditated Skill prepares
 In softly soothing *Lydian* Airs

Asopichus to sing;

Asopichus, whose Speed by thee sustain'd
 The Wreath for his *Orchomenus* obtain'd.

³Go then, sportive *Echo*, go

To the fable Dome below,

Proserpine's black Dome, repair,

There to *Cleodemus* bear

Tidings of immortal Fame:

Tell, how in the rapid Game

O'er *Pisa's* Vale his Son victorious fled;

Tell, for thou saw'st him bear away

⁴The winged Honours of the Day;

And deck with Wreaths of Fame his youthful Head.

too far from his Subject. I will not undertake to justify him in every Point. He had a great and a warm Imagination, but it must be allowed at the same Time, that he was a Man of Sense.

³ *Echo* was a Nymph, that had her Residence on the Banks of *Cephisus*, a River that ran by *Orchomenus*. *Pindar*, therefore, could not have chosen a properer Person to

send to *Cleodemus* with the Tidings of his Sen's Victory, than her; who being in the Neighbourhood of *Orchomenus*, had heard and repeated them a thousand times.

⁴ *The winged Honours &c.*] The Words in the Original are Εἰσφάραες νύμφων αἰθέρων ἐλπίσιν χαίρων, coronaverit inclitorum certaminum alis caesariem. The Scholiasts, and from them all the Annotators, say, that

αἰετόν, (which literally signifies *Wings*) is used in this Place figuratively to denote the *Olympick* Crowns; whose Property, say they, it is to elevate, like Wings, and raise the Glory of the Conquerors. But this, in my Opinion, is a Figure too bold and extravagant even for *Pindar* himself. I rather think the Word αἰετόν, Wings, should be here taken in its literal Signification; as I imagine from this Passage, and one in *Plutarch*, which I have considered in another Place, that to the *Olympick* Crowns, ἔτι were superadded some Emblematical Ornaments, to distinguish perhaps the Victors in the several kinds of Exercises; or to denote in general their Constancy and Perseverance. Wings were the usual Emblem of Swiftmess, and might therefore have been very properly worn by the Conquerors in the Foot Race, of

which Number was this *Asopichus*, to whom *Pindar* inscribed the present Ode.

The Epithet *youthful*, in the next Verse, is used with great Propriety, since it appears by the *Greek* Inscription or Title of this Ode, that *Asopichus* was a Boy; and that he obtained the Victory in the Class of Boys (a Circumstance not taken notice of by any of the Annotators or Scholiasts) is evident for this Reason, viz. Had he gained the Victory in the Class of Men, his Name would have been found in the Register of *Olympick* Conquerors, from whom the several *Olympiads* were denominated; whereas to that *Olympiad*, in which he is said to have gained the Victory, is annexed the Name of *Dandæ Argeus*. See *Chron. Olymp.* prefixed to the *Oxford* Edit. of *Pindar*.



THE FIRST

PYTHIAN ODE.

This Ode is inscribed to Hiero of Aetna, King of Syracuse, who, in the Twenty ninth Pythiad (which answers to the Seventy eighth Olympiad) gained the Victory in the Chariot Race.

A R G U M E N T.

The Poet, addressing himself in the first Place to his Harp, launches out immediately into a Description of the wonderful Effects produced in Heaven by the incanting Harmony of that divine Instrument, when played upon by Apollo, and accompanied by the Muses: These Effects, says he, are to celestial Minds Delight and Rapture, but the contrary to the Wicked, who cannot bear, without Horror, this heavenly Musick. Having mentioned the Wicked, he falls into an Account of the Punishment of Typhoeus, an impious Giant; who, having presumed to defy Jupiter, was by him cast into Tartarus, and then chained under Mount Aetna, whose fiery Eruptions he ascribes to this Giant, whom he therefore styles Vulcanian Monster. The Description of these Eruptions of Mount Aetna he closes with a short Prayer to Jupiter, who had a Temple upon that Mountain, and from thence passes to, what indeed is more properly the Subject of this Ode, the Pythian Victory of Hiero. This Part of the Poem is connected with what went before by the means of Aetna, a City built by Hiero, and named after the Mountain in whose Neighbourhood it stood. Hiero had ordered himself to be styled of Aetna by the Herald who proclaimed his Victory in the Pythian Games; from which glorious Beginning, says Pindar, the happy City prefigures to herself all kinds of Glory and Felicity for the future. Then addressing himself

himself to Apollo, the Patron of the Pythian Games, he beseeches him to make the Citizens of Aetna great and happy; all human Excellencies being the Gifts of Heaven. To Hiero, in like manner, he wishes Felicity and Prosperity for the future, not to be disturbed by the Return or Remembrance of any past Afflictions. The Toils indeed and Troubles which Hiero had undergone, before he and his Brother Gelo obtained the Sovereignty of Syracuse, having been crowned with Success, will doubtless, says Pindar, recur often to his Memory with great Delight: And then taking notice of the Condition of Hiero, who, it seems, being at that Time troubled with the Stone, was carried about in the Army in a Litter, or Chariot, he compares him to Philoctetes: This Hero having been wounded in the Foot by one of Hercules's Arrows, laid in Lemnos to get cured of his Wound; but it being decreed by the Fates, that Troy should not be taken without those Arrows, of which Philoctetes had the Possession, the Greeks fetched him from Lemnos, lame and wounded as he was, and carried him to the Siege. As Hiero resembled Philoctetes in one Point, may he also, adds the Poet, resemble him in another, and recover his Health by the Assistance of a Divinity. Then addressing himself to Dinomenes, the Son of Hiero, whom that Prince intended to make King of Aetna, he enters into an Account of the Colony, which Hiero had settled in that City: The People of this Colony, being originally descended from Sparta, were, at their own Request, governed by the Laws of that famous Commonwealth. To this Account Pindar subjoins a Prayer to Jupiter, imploring him to grant that both the King and People of Aetna may, by answerable Deeds, maintain the Glory and Splendor of their Race; and that Hiero, and his Son Dinomenes, taught to govern by the Precepts of his Father, may be able to dispose their Minds to Peace and Unity. For this Purpose, continues he, do thou, O Jupiter, prevent the Carthaginians and the Tuscans from invading Sicily any more, by recalling to their Minds the great Losses they had lately sustained from the Valour of Hiero and his Brothers; into a more particular Detail of whose Courage and Virtue,

Pindar

Pindar insinuates he would gladly enter, *was* be not afraid of being too prolix and tedious; a Fault which is apt to breed in the Reader Sa-tiety and Disgust; and though, continues he, excessive Fame produces often the same Effects in envious Minds, yet do not thou, O Hiero! upon that Consideration, omit doing any great or good Action; it being far better to be envied than to be pitied. With this, and some Precepts useful to all Kings in general, and others more peculiarly adapted to the Temper of Hiero, whom, as he was somewhat inclined to Avarice, he encourages to Acts of Generosity and Munificence, from the Consideration of the Fame accruing to Princes of that Character, and the Infamy redounding to Tyrants, he concludes; winding up all with observing, that the First of all human Blessings consists in being virtuous; the Second in being praised; and that he, who has the Happiness to enjoy both these at the same Time, is arrived at the highest Point of earthly Felicity.

DECADE I.

HAIL, golden Lyre! whose Heav'n-invented String
To Phœbus, and the black-hair'd Nine belongs!

Who in sweet Chorus round their tuneful King
Mix with thy founding Chords their sacred Songs.

'Hail golden Lyre!' Several Reasons may be assigned for Pindar's addressing himself to the Harp; as first, the Harp belonged in a peculiar Manner to Apollo, the Inventor of that Instrument, as is intimated in the following Verses. Secondly, the Pythian Games, in which Hiero obtained the Victory here celebrated by Pindar, were consecrated to that God. Thirdly, Hiero himself was not unskilled in that Instrument, as may be collected from what Pindar says of him in his First Olympe Ode, *Antistrophe* 1.

Besides which, the Scholiast furnishes us with another Reason from the Historian Artemon, who says, that Hiero had promised Pindar to make him a Present of a Golden Harp, of which Promise the Poet intending cunningly to remind him, chose, in addressing himself to the Harp, to make use of the Epithet *Golden*. But this Account, as the same Scholiast intimates, is rather ingenious than true; since the Pythian Games being consecrated to Apollo, made it extremely proper in Pindar to begin an Ode,

The

The Dance, gay Queen of Pleasure, Thee attends;
 Thy jocund Strains her list'ning Feet inspire:
 And each melodious Tongue it's Voice suspends

'Till Thou, great Leader of the heav'nly Quire,
 With wanton Art preluding giv'st the Sign—
 Swells the full Concert then with Harmony divine.

DECADE II.

Then, of their streaming Lightnings all disarm'd,
 The smouldring Thunderbolts of *Jove* expire:

Then, by the Musick of thy Numbers charm'd,

The* Birds fierce Monarch drops his vengeful Ire;

²Perch'd on the Sceptre of th'*Olympian* King,

The thrilling Darts of Harmony he feels;

And indolently hangs his rapid Wing,

While gentle Sleep his closing Eyelid seals;

And o'er his heaving Limbs in loose Array

To ev'ry balmy Gale the rustling Feathers play.

* The Eagle.

occasioned by a Victory in those Games, with praising that Instrument, of which their Patron was the Inventor, as was before observed. And as to the Epithet *golden*, it is so frequently used by the Poets in a figurative Sense, to express the Excellence and Value of the Thing to which it is joined, that it cannot be concluded that it ought in this Place to be taken literally.

² *Perch'd on the Sceptre.*] If *Pindar* did not take this Circumstance of the Eagle's perching on the Sceptre of *Jupi-*

ter from some Statue or Picture of that God, we may venture to affirm that *Phidias*, in all probability, borrowed it from *Pindar*, since, in the Description which *Pausanias* has given us of the famous Statue of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, made by that eminent Statuary, we find an Eagle represented sitting upon his Sceptre. Poets, Painters, and Statuaries often took Hints from one another, and *Phidias* in particular is said to have acknowledged that he borrowed the Idea of the Majestick Coun-

DECADE III.

Ev'n *Mars*, stern God of Violence and War,
 Sooths with thy lulling Strains his furious Breaſt,
 And driving from his Heart each bloody Care,

His pointed Lance conſigns to peaceful Reſt.
 Nor leſs enraptur'd each immortal Mind

Owens the ſoft Influence of enchanting Song,
 When, in melodious Symphony combin'd,

Thy Son, *Latona*, and the tuneful Throng
 Of Muſes, ſkill'd in Wiſdom's deepeſt Lore,

The ſubtle Pow'rs of Verſe and Harmony explore.

DECADE IV.

But they, on Earth, or the devouring Main,

Whom righteous *Jove* with Detestation views,

With envious Horror hear the heav'nly Strain,

Exil'd from Praise, from Virtue, and the Muſe.

³Such is *Typhoeus*, impious Foe of Gods,

Whole hundred headed Form *Cilicia's* Cave

Once ſofter'd in her infamous Abodes;

'Till daring with preſumptuous Arms to brave

The Might of Thund'ring *Jove*, ſubdued he fell,

Plung'd in the horrid Dungeons of profoundeſt Hell.

tenance of *Jupiter*, ſo remarkable in that from *Pindar*, a Poet no leſs famous in
 inimitable Statue, from a Paſſage in *Homer's* *Lyrick* Poetry, than *Homer* in *Epic*.
 which makes it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that ³Such is *Typhoeus*, &c.] I ſhall not
 he copied this Circumſtance of the Eagle trouble the Reader with the many different

L

DECADE

DECADE V.

Now under sulph'rous *Cuma's* Sea-bound Coast,
 And vast *Sicilia* lies his shaggy Breast;
 By snowy *Ætna*, Nurse of endless Frost,
 The pillar'd Prop of Heav'n, for ever press'd:
 Forth from whose nitrous Caverns issuing rise
 Pure liquid Fountains of tempestuous Fire,
 And veil in ruddy Mists the Noon-day Skies,
 While wrapt in Smoke the eddying Flames aspire,
 Or gleaming thro' the Night with hideous Roar
 Far o'er the red'ning Main huge rocky Fragments pour.

Accounts of this Fabulous Giant, who (with the Historian *Artemon*, and *Pindar's* Scholiast, who derives his Name from *αἰψος*, signifying *to burn*) I take to be an allegorical Personage, invented by the Poets to denote the unknown Cause of those fiery Eruptions, which proceeded from several Mountains in different Parts of the Earth; each of which, says *Artemon*, is supposed to be set on Fire by *Typhoeus*. According to which Notion he is, a little lower, styled by *Pindar* a *Vulcanian Monster*,

who to the Clouds

The fiercest, hottest Inundations throws.

Thucydides, at the End of his third Book, makes mention of three Eruptions of Mount *Ætna*, the last of which he says happened in the third Year of the 88th *Olymp.* the former about fifty Years before, that is, in the last Year of the 76th, or first Year of the 77th *Olymp.* Of the Date of the first Eruption he makes no mention. Pro-

bably no more was known in his Time about it, than that it was the first, and the only one, besides the two abovementioned, that had happened from the Time of the *Greeks* first settling in *Sicily*, as he expressly tells us. This Ode was composed in the 78th *Olymp.* about four or five Years after the second Eruption mentioned by *Thucydides*. The City of *Ætna*, founded on the Ruins of *Catana*, was built by *Hiero* in the 76th *Olymp.* and stood in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Ætna*, from which it derived its Name. From all these Considerations it appears, with how much Propriety *Pindar* hath here introduced a Description of the fiery Eruptions of that burning Mountain; one of which having happened so lately as four or five Years before the writing this Ode, could not but be very fresh in the Memories of the Inhabitants of the City of *Ætna*, whose Territories, and even the Town itself, were in great Danger of being laid waste and destroyed

DECADE

DECADE VI.

But he, *Vulcanian* Monster, to the Clouds
 The fiercest, hottest Inundations throws,
 While with the Burthen of incumbent Woods,
 And *Ætna's* gloomy Cliffs o'erwhelm'd he glows,
 There on his flinty Bed out-stretch'd he lies,
 Whose pointed Rock his tossing Carcase wounds:
 There with Dismay he strikes beholding Eyes,
 Or frights the distant Ear with horrid Sounds.
 O save us from thy Wrath, *Sicilian Jove!*
 Thou, that here reign'st, ador'd in *Ætna's* sacred Grove!

DECADE VII.

Ætna, fair Forehead of this fruitful Land!
 Whose borrow'd Name adorns the Royal Town,
 Rais'd by illustrious *Hiero's* gen'rous Hand,
 And render'd glorious with his high Renown.
 By *Pythian* Heralds were her Praises sung,
 When *Hiero* triumph'd in the dusty Course,
 When sweet *Cassalia* with Applauses rung,
 And glorious Laurels crown'd the conqu'ring Horse.
 The happy City for her future Days
 Prefages hence Increase of Victory and Praise.

by the Torrents of Fire, which issued from Eruptions. With the same Propriety there-
 the neighbouring Mountain, or by the fore he closes his Description with a Prayer
 Earthquakes, that usually attended those to *Jupiter*, who had a Temple on Mount
 L 2

DECADE

DECADE VIII.

Thus when the Mariners to prosperous Winds,
 The Port forsaking, spread their swelling Sails;
 The fair Departure cheers their jocund Minds
 With pleasing Hopes of favourable Gales,
 While o'er the dang'rous Defarts of the Main,
 To their lov'd Country they pursue their Way.
 Ev'n so, *Apollo*, thou, whom *Lycia's* Plain,
 Whom *Delus*, and *Castalia's* Springs obey,
 These Hopes regard, and *Aetna's* Glory raise
 With valiant Sons, triumphant Steeds, and heav'nly Lays!

DECADE IX.

For human Virtue from the Gods proceeds;
 They the wise Mind bestow'd, and smooth'd the
 With Elocution, and for mighty Deeds [Tongue
 The nervous Arm with manly Vigour strung.
 All these are *Hiero's*: these to Rival Lays
 Call forth the Bard: Arise then, Muse, and speed
 To this Contention; strive in *Hiero's* Praise,
 Nor fear thy Efforts shall his Worth exceed;

Aetna, imploring his Favour and Protection. The other Beauties of this fine description of these fiery Eruptions of Mount Passage are so visible and striking, that I need not point them out to the judicious Reader. I shall only observe, that *Pindar* supposed not to have burnt before his Time.

Within

⁴ Within the Lines of Truth secure to throw,
Thy Dart shall still surpass each vain attempting Foe.

DECADE X.

So may succeeding Ages, as they roll,
Great *Hiero* still in Wealth and Bliss maintain,
⁵ And joyous Health recalling, on his Soul
Oblivion pour of Life-consuming Pain.

⁴ The Metaphor here made use of by *Pindar* is borrowed from one of the five Exercises of the *Pentathlon*, viz. Darting, in which he who threw his Dart farthest, within certain Lines, or Limits, was deemed the Conqueror; as he, whose Dart wandered beyond those Lines, lost the Victory. See *Dissert.*

⁵ The Works of the greatest Part of the *Sicilian* Historians being lost, the Accounts we have of *Hiero*, and the Affairs of *Sicily* in his Time are so short and defective, that we must content ourselves with what Lights the Scholiast of *Pindar* furnishes us with for the Illustration of this and some other Passages in this Ode. *Pindar* has inscribed no less than four Odes to *Hiero*, viz. the first *Olympick* Ode, and first, second, and third *Pythian* Odes. In each of which however are many Passages not sufficiently cleared up by the Scholiast: For Instance, in the first *Olympick* Ode, written upon Occasion of a Victory obtained by *Hiero* in the Seventy third *Olymp.* (if the Date be right) *Hiero* is styled *King*, and yet it is certain that he did not succeed to the Throne of *Syracuse*, till after the Death of his Brother *Gelo*, which happened in the 75th *Olymp.* It should seem therefore from what *Pindar* says, that he was King of some other City of *Sicily*, while his

Brother reigned in *Syracuse*: but of this we have no Account, neither from History, nor from the Scholiast. In the same Ignorance and Uncertainty are we left with regard to the Times, Circumstances, and Persons alluded to in this and the following Stanza. We may however venture to determine, that by these Verses,

*What Time, by Heav'n above all Grecians
crown'd,
The Prize of Sov'reign Sway with thee thy
Brother found.*

Pindar meant to allude to that famous Decree, by which the People of *Syracuse* voluntarily settled the Sovereignty of their City upon *Gelo*, and his Brothers *Hiero* and *Thrasybulus*. A Decree no less singular than honourable, no *Grecian*, that I know of, having obtained the Sovereignty in a free State, by the voluntary Appointment of the People, which shews the Propriety of the two Verses above quoted.

As to the following Verses,

*Then like the Son of Pean didst thou war,
Smit with the Arrows of a sore Disease.
While, as along slow rolls thy sickly Carr,
Love and Amaze the haughtiest Bosoms
seize.*

We are told by the Scholiast, that *Hiero*
Yet

Yet may thy Memory with sweet Delight
The various Dangers, and the Toils recount,
Which in intestine Wars and bloody Fight

Thy patient Virtue, *Hiero*, did surmount;
What Time, by Heav'n above all *Grecians* crown'd,
The Prize of sov'reign Sway with thee thy * Brother found.

D E C A D E X I.

Then like the Son of *Pæan* didst thou war,
Smit with the Arrows of a fore Disease;
While, as along slow rolls thy sickly Carr,
Love and Amaze the haughtiest Bosoms seize.

* *Gelo*.

being afflicted with the Stone or Gravel, was carried about with his Army in a Litter or Chariot; which two Particulars I have, for the sake of illustrating what follows, transplanted out of the Notes into the Text, tho' *Pindar* makes no mention of either. All the Circumstances of *Hiero's* Sickness, Wars, &c. were undoubtedly too well known, to need any thing more, than a bare Hint, or a distant Allusion, from *Pindar*, who wrote his Ode to be sung in the Court, and even in the Presence of *Hiero* himself. Every School-boy is acquainted with the Story of *Philoctetes*, the Comparison between whom and *Hiero* turns upon the general Resemblance of their Conditions: they were both disabled, yet both attended their Armies, and by that Attendance having obtained the Victory, gave repose to their long harraffed Countrymen. As they resembled each other in these Particulars, so, continues *Pindar*,

I

may *Hiero* resemble *Philoctetes* in recovering his Health by the supernatural Assistance of some Deity. *Philoctetes*, as the Scholiast tells us out of *Dionysius*, being by the Direction of *Apollo's* Oracle put into a Bath, was cast into a deep Sleep, and *Machaon* having taken away the putrified Flesh, and washed the Wound with Wine, laid to it an Herb which *Æsculapius* had received from *Chiron*, by which Medicament the Hero was restored to his former State of Health. This With or Prayer *Pindar* has insisted upon more largely in his third *Pythian* Ode, addressed likewise to *Hiero*, which begins with a With that *Chiron* was still resident upon Earth, that, says *Pindar*, I might repair to him in his Cave, and endeavour with my Verses to prevail with him, either to lend his own Assistance to good Men labouring under any Disease, or to send some Son of *Apollo*, as *Æsculapius*, or *Apollo* himself; and then,

In

In *Lemnos* pining with th' envenom'd Wound
 The Son of *Pean*, *Philoctetes*, lay:
 There, after tedious Quest, the Heroes found,
 And bore the limping Archer thence away;
 By whom fell *Priam's* Tow'rs (so Fate ordain'd)
 And the long harra's'd *Greeks* their with'd Repose obtain'd.

DECADE XII.

May *Hiero* too, like *Pean's* Son, receive
 Recover'd Vigour from celestial Hands!
 And may the Healing God proceed to give
 The Pow'r to gain whatever his Will demands.
 But now, O Muse, address thy founding Lays
 To young *Dinomenes*, his virtuous Heir.
 Sing to *Dinomenes*, his Father's Praise;
 His Father's Praise shall glad his filial Ear.
 For him hereafter shalt thou touch the String,
 And chant in friendly Strains fair *Aetna's* future King.

continues he, would I repair to *Syracuse*, was the Son of *Hiero* by the Daughter of
 carrying to *Hiero* two acceptable Presents, *Nicoles* of *Syracuse*. *Pindar* in the next
 Health, and an Ode congratulating him Stanza tells us, that *Hiero* founded the City
 upon his *Pythian* Victory, &c. The whole of *Aetna* for his Son *Dinomenes*, whom he
 Ode is very fine, and ends with proper therefore styles the future King of *Aetna*;
 Consolatories to *Hiero*, whose Disease, as but the Event did not answer either *Hiero's*
 this Will of the Poet intimates, was not to Intention, or the Poet's Expectation. For
 be cured by human Means. the old Inhabitants of *Catana*, upon whose

⁶ Sing to *Dinomenes* his Father's Praise;
 His Father's Praise shall please his filial
 Ear, &c.]

Dinomenes (named after his Grandfather) Ruins the City of *Aetna* was built, return-
 ing immediately after the Death of *Hiero*,
 expelled from thence the People settled
 there by *Hiero*, burnt his Sepulchre, and

DECADE

D E C A D E X I I I .

Hiero for him th' illustrious City rear'd,

And fill'd with Sons of *Greece* her stately Tow'rs,
Where by the free-born Citizen rever'd

The *Spartan* Laws exert their virtuous Pow'rs.

For by the Statutes, which their Fathers gave,
Still must the restive *Dorian* Youth be led;
Who dwelling once on cold *Eurotas*' Wave,

Where proud *Taygetus* exalts his Head,
From the great Stock of *Hercules* divine
And warlike *Pamphilus* deriv'd their noble Line.

D E C A D E X I V .

These from *Thessalian Pindus* rushing down,

The Walls of famed *Amycle* once possess'd,

And rich in Fortune's Gifts and high Renown,

Dwelt near the Twins of *Leda*, while they press'd

took Possession once more of their native City, from whence they had been driven by that Monarch. *Hiero* however, in his Life time, appointed his Son Governor or General of this Colony, which, it seems, being compos'd of People descended originally from *Sparta*, as *Pindar* himself tells us, was left by *Hiero* to enjoy their Liberty, and be governed by the Laws of their Mother Country. Which Laws, according to the Opinion of some People, as we learn from the Scholiast, were the famous Laws of *Lycurgus*: this however is somewhat un-

certain. I shall add here for the Information of the unlearned Reader, that *Amycle*, mentioned in the following Verses, was the old Name of *Sparta* or *Lacedæmon*, which stood near the River *Eurotas*, and the Mountain *Taygetus*, and that *Ætina* (the City) was built on the Banks of the River *Amena*. That *Pindar* was not mistaken in what he says of *Dinomeneus*, viz. *His Father's Praise shall please his filial Ear*, may be infer'd from the rich Monuments of his Father's *Olympick* Victories erected by Him at *Olympia*, which, as *Pausanias* in-

Their

Their milky Courfers, and the Pastures o'er
 Of neighb'ring *Argos* rang'd, in Arms supreme.
 To King and People on the flow'ry Shore
 Of lucid *Amena*, *Sicilian* Stream,
 Grant the like Fortune, *Jove*, with like Desert
 The Splendor of their Race and Glory to assert

DECADE XV.

And do thou aid *Sicilia's* hoary Lord
 To form and rule his Son's obedient Mind;
 And still in golden Chains of sweet Accord,
 And mutual Peace the friendly People bind.
 'Then grant, O Son of *Saturn*, grant my Pray'r!
 The bold *Phœnician* on his Shore detain;
 And may the hardy *Tuscan* never dare
 To vex with clam'rous War *Sicilia's* Main;
 Rememb'ring *Hiero*, how on *Cuma's* Coast
 Wreck'd by his stormy Arms their groaning Fleets were lost.

forms us, l. vi. were a Chariot made by
Onatus of *Hegira*, and two Horses, with
 Boys upon them, the Workmanship of
Calamis.

? Then grant, O Son of Saturn, grant my
 Pray'r!

The bold Phœnician, &c.]

From those Verses we learn a Particular not
 taken notice of by any of those Historians,
 whose Works are now remaining, namely,
 that *Hiero* in Conjunction with his Brethren
Gelo, *Thrasylbus*, and *Polyzelus*, obtained
 a naval Victory over the *Carthaginians*, as

well as that by Land mentioned by *Hera-*
dotus and *Diodorus Siculus*. Whoever at-
 tentively considers this Passage of *Pindar*
 can make no doubt but that the Battle
 and Victory here spoken of were both Na-
 val. The only Question is, whether this
 Passage refers to the above mentioned
 Victory obtained by *Gelo* and his Brothers
Hiero, &c. over the *Carthaginians*; or to
 that gained afterwards by *Hiero* over the
Tuscan Pirates near *Cuma*, mentioned by
Diodorus, l. 11. To determine us to ap-
 ply it to the former, I must observe, First,

M

DECADE

DECADE XVI.

What Terrors ! what Destruction them assail'd !
 Hurl'd from their driven Decks what Numbers dy'd !
 When o'er their Might *Sicilia's* Chief prevail'd,
 Their Youth o'er-whelming in the foamy Tide ;

that the *Carthaginians* are here joined with the *Tuscan* or *Tyrthenians*, which was the Case when *Gelo*, &c. engaged them ; whereas the Victory afterwards won by *Hiero*, was only over the *Tuscan* or *Tyrthenian* Pirates. Secondly, the Consequences of this Victory are by *Pindar* represented to be no less than the delivering *Greece* from Slavery ; an Expression very applicable to the Victory obtained by *Gelo* and his Brothers over the joint Forces of the *Carthaginians* and *Tuscan* ; but very extravagant and unjustifiable, if applied to that gained by *Hiero* over a few Pirates. Thirdly, this Victory is, in the Verses immediately following, compared with the two famous Victories gained by the *Athenians* and *Spartans*, at *Salamis* and *Plataeæ*, over the *Perfians* ; by Virtue of an Alliance with whom, the *Carthaginians* at the same Time invaded the *Greeks* settled in *Sicily*. Fourthly, *Pindar* mentions the Sons of *Dinomene* as partaking in the Glory of this Victory ; which is true of that gained by *Gelo*, &c. in Memory of which the Scholiast tells us, *Gelo*, who lived well with his Brothers, dedicated some golden Tripods to *Jupiter*, on which were inscribed four *Greek* Verses, importing, that *Gelo*, *Hiero*, *Thrasylbus*, and *Polyzelus*, the Sons of *Dinomene*, dedicated those Tripods, on occasion of a Victory obtained by them over the *Barbarians*, against whom they assisted the *Greeks* in the Defence of

their Liberty. By this Inscription it appears, that all the Sons of *Dinomene* were concerned in this Action, which makes it more proper to apply the Words of *Pindar*, *αἰδέεσθαι Δεινομένης*, the Sons of *Dinomene*, to this Action, than to that of *Hiero* before mentioned, at the Time of which *Gelo* was dead.

From all these Considerations I think it clear, that the Victory here spoken of was gained by *Gelo*, &c. over the *Carthaginians*. This is farther confirmed by the following Passage of *Ephorus*, a *Sicilian* Historian, quoted by the Scholiast of *Pindar*, of which this is the Substance : That *Xerxes* having made great Preparations to invade *Greece*, there came Embassadors to *Gelo*, desiring him to join his Forces to the Allied Army of the *Greeks* ; that at the same Time Embassadors were sent from the *Persians* and *Tyrrians* to the *Carthaginians*, ordering them to raise all the Forces they could, and attack all those in *Sicily* whom they should find inclined to assist the *Greeks* ; and after they had subdued them, to sail directly to *Peloponnesus* : that each assenting to what was demanded of them, *Hiero* [perhaps it should be *Gelo*] being very eager for assisting the *Greeks*, and the *Carthaginians* being as ready to co-operate with *Xerxes*, the former, viz. *Gelo*, got ready a Fleet of 200 Ships, and an Army of 2000 Horse, and 10,000 Foot ; and having been inform-

Greece

Greece from impending Servitude to save.

Thy Favour, glorious *Athens!* to acquire
Would I record the *Salaminian* Wave

Fam'd in thy Triumphs: and my tuneful Lyre
To *Sparta's* Sons with sweetest Praise should tell,
Beneath *Ciberon's* Shade what *Medish* Archers fell.

ed that the *Carthaginian* Fleet was sailed for *Sicily*, went out to meet them, engaged and vanquished them; by which Victory, continues *Ephorus*, he not only saved *Sicily*, but all *Greece*. Here then is the direct Testimony of an Historian, who wrote expressly upon the Affairs of *Sicily*, and lived long before *Diodorus*, confirming what *Pindar*, who lived at the very Time of these Transactions, says of a naval Victory obtained by *Gelo* and his Brothers over the *Carthaginians*. Of which, however, neither *Diodorus*, nor any other Author, that I know of, makes any mention, except *Pausanias*, whose Words I shall produce presently: For this Omission, as well in the modern as the ancient Historians, I can by no means account; considering that the latter might have learnt this Particular from *Ephorus* and others, and the former from *Pindar* and his Scholiast, as well as from the Words of *Pausanias* above hinted at, which are these: 'Εφείνε δὲ τῷ Σικανίῳ ἐστὶν ὁ Καρχηδονίων θνατοῦ. Αναθίμαλα δ' ἐν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς παρέθηκε μέγας, καὶ Σάρακας ἄνδρ' ἑταῖρ' ἀγέμεν. Τίμων δὲ ἀναθήμα καὶ Σικανίων, Φωκίας ἥτορ τεμένηων ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ μάχῃ κεραιόων. *Paus.* l. vi. P. 499. Edit. Kuhnii. *Prope Sicyonium thesaurus est Carthaginensium*—in eo sunt *Jupiter ingenti magnitudine, et lintea Lorice tres, Gelonis et Syracusanorum dona, victis classe vel etiam pedestri pugna Pœnis,*

or, as I think they may be translated, *victis quidem classe, atque etiam pedestri pugna Pœnis*. Here is mention made of two Victories, one by Land, and the other by Sea: and this I take to have been the Truth of the Case: *Gelo* first fought with the *Carthaginians* at Sea, routed and dispersed their Fleet, and sunk many of their Ships; but many, as they well might, out of so large a Fleet of Ships of War and Transports, escaping to *Sicily*, he afterwards engaged them upon Land, and won the Victory mentioned by *Diodorus*. This Supposition not only reconciles the two different Relations given by *Diodorus* and *Ephorus*, but accounts for *Pindar's* naming, as he does, both *Cuma* and *Himera* as the Places of Action, and mentioning the Battles both of *Salamis* and *Plateæ*, the one of which was fought at Sea, the other by Land. In this Light the Comparison is just and noble, and the whole Passage of *Pindar* clear and intelligible; whereas, if there was only one Victory, whether by Sea or Land, there is no reconciling the Historians with one another, nor even *Pindar* with himself; and, if I might be indulged in a Conjecture, I should imagine, from *Pindar's* mentioning *Himera* alone, when he speaks of the naval Fight near *Cuma*, and afterwards, when he refers to the Land Battle fought near the River *Himera*, mentioning all the Sons of *Dino-*

D E C A D E X V I I .

But on fair *Himera's* wide-water'd Shores

Thy Sons, *Dinomene's*, my Lyre demand,

To grace their Virtues with the various Stores

Of sacred Verse, and sing th' illustrious Band

Of valiant Brothers, who from *Carbage* won

The glorious Meed of Conquest, deathless Praise.

A pleasing Theme! but Censure's dreaded Frown

Compels me to contract my spreading Lays.

In Verse Conciseness pleases ev'ry Guest,

While each impatient blames and loaths a tedious Feast.

D E C A D E X V I I I .

Nor less distasteful is excessive Fame

To the four Palate of the envious Mind;

Who hears with Grief his Neighbour's goodly Name,

And hates the Fortune that he ne'er shall find.

menes, I should, I say, infer that *Hiero* the Memory of an Action, which so much commanded in the Sea Engagement; which redounded to the Honour of *Hiero*, to may also be one Reason why this Naval whom he inscribes this Ode. This Note Victory is not placed among the Actions having been communicated to the Authors of *Gelo*; as its having been obscured by of the *Universal History*, they were pleased the more illustrious, and more important to honour it with a Place in their learned Victory obtained by *Gelo* and his Brothers, and valuable Work; and it is accordingly which put an End to that *Carthaginian* Invasion, may have been the Occasion of *Pindar's* recording it, in order to preserve published.

Yet

Yet in thy Virtue, *Hiero*, persevere!

Since to be envied is a nobler Fate

Than to be pitied: Let strict Justice steer

With equitable Hand the Helm of State,

And arm thy Tongue with Truth: O King, beware
Of ev'ry Step! a Prince can never lightly err.

DECADE XIX.

O'er many Nations art thou set, to deal

The Goods of Fortune with impartial Hand;

And ever watchful of the publick Weal,

Unnumber'd Witnesses around thee stand.

Then would the virtuous Ear for ever feast

On the sweet Melody of well-earn'd Fame,

In gen'rous Purposes confirm thy Breast,

Nor dread Expences that will grace thy Name;

But scorning fordid and unprincipely Gain,

Spread all thy bounteous Sails, and launch into the Main.

DECADE XX.

When in the mouldring Urn the Monarch lies,

His Fame in lively Characters remains, .

Or grav'd in Monumental Histories,

Or deck'd and painted in *Aonian* Strains.

Thus

Thus fresh, and fragrant, and immortal blooms
 The Virtue, *Cræsus*, of thy gentle Mind.
 While Fate to Infamy and Hatred dooms
Sicilia's Tyrant, Scorn of human kind;
 Whose ruthless Bosom swell'd with cruel Pride,
 When in his Brazen Bull the broiling Wretches dy'd.

DECADE XXI.

Him therefore nor in sweet Society

The gen'rous Youth conversing ever name;
 Nor with the Harp's delightful Melody

Mingle his odious inharmonious Fame.

The First, the greatest Bliss on Man conferr'd

Is, in the Acts of Virtue to excel;

The Second, to obtain their high Reward,

The Soul-exalting Praise of doing well.

Who both these Lots attains, is blest'd indeed,

Since Fortune here below can give no richer Meed.



THE FIRST

N E M E A N O D E.

This Ode is inscribed to *Chromius of Ætna* (a City of Sicily) who gained the Victory in the Chariot Race, in the *Nemean Games*.

A R G U M E N T.

From the Praises of Ortygia (an Island near Sicily, and Part of the City of Syracuse, to which it was joined by a Bridge) Pindar passes to the Subject or Occasion of this Ode, viz. the Victory obtained by Chromius in the Nemean Games; which, as it was the first of that Kind gained by him, the Poet styles the Basis of his future Fame, laid by the Co-operation of the Gods, who assisted and seconded his divine Virtues; and, adds he, if Fortune continues to be favourable, he may arrive at the highest Summit of Glory: by which is meant chiefly, tho' not solely, the gaining more Prizes in the Great or Sacred Games (particularly the Olympick) where the Muses constantly attend to celebrate and record the Conquerors. From thence, after a short Digression to the general Praise of Sicily, he comes to an Enumeration of the particular Virtues of Chromius, viz. his Hospitality, Liberality, Prudence in Council, and Courage in War. Then returning to the Nemean Victory, he takes Occasion from so auspicious a Beginning, to promise Chromius a large Increase of Glory, in like manner as Tiresias, the famous Poet and Prophet of Thebes (the Country of Pindar) upon viewing the first Exploit of Hercules, which was killing in his Cradle the two Serpents sent by Juno to devour him, foretold the subsequent Achievements of that Hero; and the great Reward he should receive for all his Labours, by being admitted into the Number of the Gods, and married to Hebe; with which Story he concludes the Ode.

STROPHE

STROPHES I.

SISTER of Delos! pure Abode
Of Virgin Cynthia, Goddess of the Chace!
In whose Recesses rests th' emerging Flood
Of *Alpheus*, breathing from his am'rous Race!

* *Sister of Delos!* [Etc.] *Ortygia* is by *Pindar* styled the *Sister of Delos*, either because *Diana* was worshipped particularly in those two Islands, or because she was born in the former, as her Brother *Apollo* was in the latter, according to *Homer* in his Hymns. For both which Reasons also he styles it the Place of Abode or Residence of *Diana*. The Fable of the River *Alpheus*'s pursuing the Fountain *Arcthusa* from *Peloponnesus* under the Sea, and rising again in *Ortygia* is well known. But there is some Difficulty in accounting for *Pindar*'s chusing to *refer in the Praises of Chromius* with celebrating those of *Ortygia*, which seem to have at best but a very distant Relation to his Subject. The learned Reader may find several Reasons assigned in the Scholiast upon the Place, but as none of them appear satisfactory to me, I shall pass them over, and beg Leave to offer a Conjecture of my own; after premising, that *Pindar*, who was a Native of *Thebes* in *Bæotia*, commonly resided there, though he sometimes undoubtedly visited other Parts of *Greece* and even *Sicily*, where *Hiero* is said to have enjoyed, and profited by his Conversation; that he commonly assisted at the four Great or Sacred Festivals (as they are called) of *Greece*, the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, *Nemean*, and *Isthmian* Games, is also very probable, and may be inferred from several Circumstances and Expressions observable in the

Odes he composed for the Conquerors in those Games; particularly in the Fourth *Olymp.* Ode, which was apparently made and sung at *Olympia*, immediately after the Victory then obtained by *Psaumis*. See above the Note on the Inscription of *Olymp.* Ode V. At these Festivals those of the Conquerors, who had a mind to have their Victories celebrated by *Pindar*, applied to him for an Ode, which they carried with them to their respective Countries; where they caused it to be sung by a Chorus in the Processions, or at the Sacrifices, which were made with great Pomp and Solemnity at their return to their native Countries, or to those Countries or Cities of which they chose to be denominated at the Time of their entering themselves Candidates for any of those Crowns. These several Points being premised, I observe, that *Ortygia* (which was a small Island so near the main Land of *Sicily*, that it made Part of the City of *Syracuse*, to which it was joined by a Bridge) *Ortygia*, I say, was probably the Place, where the Chariots and Horses of *Chromius*, as well as those People who brought this Ode of *Pindar* from *Argos* (the City where the *Nemean* Games were celebrated) first landed. *Pindar*, therefore, by addressing himself to *Ortygia*, may be considered as saluting, by his Representative, the Ode or the Chorus, the Island of *Sicily*, immediately upon his Arrival, and

Divine

Divine *Ortygia*! to thy Name
 The Muse preluding tunes her Strings,
 Pleas'd with the sweet Preamble of thy Fame,
 To usher in the Verse, that sings
 Thy Triumphs, *Chromius*; while *Sicilian Jove*
 Hears with Delight thro' *Aëna's* sounding Grove
 The Gratulations of the hymning Choir,
 Whom thy victorious Carr, and *Nemea's* Palms inspire.

beginning his Song of Triumph at the very Place, where in all Probability *Chromius* began his Triumphal Procession. He seems to have set out with *Chromius* from *Ortygia* (*Ὀρτίης ἀδύπερος ὕμνος ὀρχαῖρας*) and to have attended him quite to *Aëna* (*Ἄνῃς, Αἰνῆας χάρις*) which being some Miles distance from *Ortygia*, where they first landed, furnished him with an Opportunity of surveying, and thereby with an Occasion of celebrating the Fertility, Riches, Populousness, &c. of *Sicily*, whose Praises he accordingly dwells upon in the *Antistrophe* and *Epeode*. Upon this Supposition it is evident that many of the Topics insisted on by *Pindar*, which seem to have but little Relation to his Subject, took their Rise from the Places, where the Ode was to be sung: An Observation which will help us to account for many of those long Digressions, and sudden Transitions, which have been censured by many, and have contributed to give a very ill Impression of *Pindar*, and his manner of Writing; as if he himself was little better than a Madman, and his Compositions mere Rhapsodies of shining Thoughts indeed, and Poetical Expressions, but wild and irregular, without Method, without Con-

nexion. How far his Dithyrambick Odes may have deserved this Character, cannot now be determined, since they are all lost; but whoever reads that Part of his Works, which now remains, with due Attention, and takes into Consideration the Circumstances of Time and Place, &c. with a View to which these Odes were composed, will, I am persuaded, find no Reason to think *Pindar* wanted Good-sense, any more than he did Poetical Fire and Imagination. The Scholiast upon the Words *Ἄνῃς Αἰνῆας χάρις* expressly tells us, that the Odes made by *Pindar* and others upon Occasion of *Hero's* Victories in the Games, were written with a View to their being sung in the Festivals or Games consecrated to *Aënaean Jupiter*; and it is probable, says *Didymus*, (quoted by the same Scholiast) that this Ode to *Chromius* was composed for the same Purpose. Here then we have the Authority both of the Scholiast and *Didymus* for an Observation, which the Ode itself might have suggested to us; and which, *mutatis mutandis*, may and ought to be applied to most of the Odes of *Pindar*. See particularly *Olymp.* Odes the 5th and 14th, and the Notes.

ANTISTROPHE I.

The Basis of his future Praife
 Assisted by the Gods hath *Chromius* laid;
 And to its Height the tow'ring Pile may raise,
 If Fortune lends her favourable Aid:
 Assur'd that all th' *Aonian* Train
 Their wonted Friendship will afford,
 Who with Delight frequent the lifted Plain,
 The Toils of Virtue to record.
 Mean time around this Isle, harmonious Muse!
 The brightest Beams of shining Verse diffuse:
 This fruitful Island, with whose flow'ry Pride
 Heav'n's awful King endow'd great *Pluto's* beauteous Bride.

EPODE I.

Sicilia with transcendant Plenty crown'd
Jove to *Proserpina* consign'd;
 Then with a Nod his solemn Promise bound,
 Still farther to enrich her fertile Shores
 With peopled Cities, stately Tow'rs,
 And Sons in Arts and Arms refin'd;
 Skill'd to the dreadful Works of War
 The thund'ring Steed to train;
 Or mounted on the whirling Carr
Olympia's all-priz'd Olive to obtain.—

Abundant

Abundant is my Theme; nor need I wrong
The fair Occasion with a flatt'ring Song.

STROPHÆ II.

¹To *Chromius* no unwelcome Guest

I come, high sounding my *Dircæan* Chord;
Who for his Poet hath prepar'd the Feast,
And spread with Luxury his friendly Board,
For never from his gen'rous Gate
Unentertain'd the Stranger flies.

While Envy's scorching Flame, that blasts the Great,
Quench'd with his flowing Bounty, dies.

But Envy ill becomes the human Mind;
Since various Parts to various Men assign'd

All to Perfection and to Praise will lead,

Would each those Paths pursue, which Nature bids him
[tread.

¹ To *Chromius* no unwelcome Guest
I come, &c,]

It is doubtful, says the Scholiast, whether these Words are spoken in the Person of the Poet, or of the Chorus; if of the latter, what follows about the Feast, is to be taken literally, for the Persons who compos'd the Chorus were always feasted; whereas if they are supposed to be spoken in the Person of *Pindar*, the Words *Who for his Poet hath prepar'd the Feast*, *ἐὼς δὲ ποτ' ἀγυμνῶτος δειπνῶν κικέλευεν*, *ubi mibi conveniens cæna adornata est*, must, says the

Scholiast, be interpreted figuratively, and construed to mean the Presents prepar'd by *Chromius* for *Pindar* as a Reward for his Ode. This Interpretation I think very harsh. On the other hand, if we suppose the Chorus to speak in his own Person, there is an Enallage of the Tense, the Perfect Tense being put for the Present. But as the using one Tense for another is no uncommon thing in Poets, and very frequent in *Pindar*, I am inclined to understand them of the Chorus, and I have accordingly translated them in that Sense.

ANTISTROPHE II.

In Action thus Heroick Might,

In Council shines the Mind sagacious, wise,

Which to the future casts her piercing Sight,

And sees the Train of Consequences rise.

With either Talent *Chromius* blest

Suppresses not his active Pow'rs.

I hate the Miser, whose unfocial Breast

Locks from the World his uselefs Stores.

Wealth by the Bounteous only is enjoy'd,

Whose Treasures in diffusive Good employ'd

The rich Returns of Fame and Friends procure ;

And 'gainst a sad Reverse, a safe Retreat insure.

To the Chorus likewise, as the Representative of *Pindar*, I have given the Epithet of *Dircean*, or *Theban*, and the Title of Poet. Now if we suppose these Words spoken in the Person of the Chorus, and consequently take what is said about the Feast in a literal Sense, we shall have another plain Allusion to the Circumstances accompanying the Triumph of *Chromius*, in which this Ode was sung: and we may hence take Occasion to observe, in Confirmation of what is said in the preceding Note, how artfully the Poet hath adapted the several Parts of his Ode to the several Topics which presented themselves during the Time in which it was sung by the Chorus. The victorious Chariot and Horses of *Chromius* landed in *Orrygia*, from

whence, in all Probability, the Procession began. With the Praises therefore of *Orrygia*, the Chorus, who attended the Triumph of the Conqueror, very properly begin their Song, declaring at the same Time the Subject or Occasion of it, viz. the *Nemean* Victory of *Chromius*, and the Design of all his Pomp and Festivity, which was to return Thanks to *Ætnean* Jupiter, and the Gods, by whose Assistance *Chromius* in this his first Victory had laid the Foundations of his future Fame. Next comes the Praise of *Sicily*, through a large Tract of which they were to pass from *Syracuse* to *Ætna*, in which Passage we may suppose them at proper Pauses taking Notice of the Fertility Wealth, Prolificity, &c. of that Island, which could not

E P O D E II.

Thy early Virtues, *Chromius*, deck'd with Praise,
 And these First-fruits of Fame inspire
 The Muse to promise for thy future Days
 A large Increase of Merit and Renown.
 So when of old *Jove's* mighty Son,
 Worthy his great immortal Sire,
 Forth from *Alcmena's* teeming Bed
 With his Twin-Brother came,
 Safe thro' Life's painful Entrance led
 To view the dazzling Sun's reviving Flame,
 Th' Imperial Cradle *Juno* quick survey'd,
 Where slept the Twins in Saffron Bands array'd.

fail striking their Eyes, as they proceeded in their March through the Fields of Corn, the rich Pastures and the stately Cities, for which *Sicily* was at that Time, and some Ages after, so famous. After this, upon mention of the Feast prepared for the Chorus, they take Occasion to launch into the particular Praises of *Chromius*, beginning with his Hospitality, of which the great Entertainment then provided by him, was a Specimen. As these Praises of his Hospitality and Liberality were a kind of Invitation to all Strangers to partake of his Bounty; from these Topics the Poet falls naturally into the mention of the other excellent Qualities of *Chromius*, viz. his

Wisdom, Courage, and Activity in the Service of his Country; and then returning to his *Nemean* Victory, promises him, from this auspicious Beginning, a large Increase of Fame, &c. as has been observed in the Argument. By considering these several Points in this Light, the whole Ode appears to me very methodical and well connected: But as all I have offered is nothing more than Conjecture, I submit it as such to the Judgment of the learned Reader.

I had once translated this Passage thus:

*To Chromius once a welcome Guest
 I came, high sounding my Dorian Chord,
 Who for his Poet strain prepar'd the Feast, &c.*

STROPHE

STROPHE III.

Then glowing with immortal Rage,
 The Gold-enthroned Empress of the Gods
 Her eager Thirst of Vengeance to assuage,
 Strait to her hated Rival's curs'd Abodes

Bade her vindictive Serpents haste.

They thro' the opening Valves with Speed
 On to the Chamber's deep Recesses past,

To perpetrate their murd'rous Deed:

And now in knotty Mazes to unfold
 Their destin'd Prey, on curling Spires they roll'd,
 His dauntless Brow when young *Alcides* rear'd,
 And for their first Attempt his infant Arms prepar'd.

ANTISTROPHE III.

Fast by the azure Necks he held

And grip'd in either Hand his scaly Foes;

Till from their horrid Carcasses expell'd,

At length the poisonous Soul unwilling flows.

Mean time intolerable Dread

Congel'd each Female's curdling Blood,

All who attendant on the genial Bed,

Around the languid Mother flood.

Taking it to be spoken in the Person of *Pin-* entertained by *Chromius*. This Interpretation will agree better with the Tenor of the Poem, than if it were taken to be spoken in the Person of *Pin-* who having been in *Sicily*, might for-merly have been hospitably received and entertained by *Chromius*, but I think the other preferable.

She

She with distracting Fear and Anguish stung,
Forth from her sickly Couch impatient sprung;
Her cumb'rous Robe regardless off she threw,
And to protect her Child with fondest Ardour flew.

EPODE III.

But with her shrill, distressful Cries alarm'd
In rush'd each bold *Cadmean* Lord,
In Brags resurgent, as to Battle arm'd;
With them *Amburyon*, whose tumultuous Breast
A Croud of various Cares infest:
High brandishing his gleaming Sword
With eager, anxious Step he came;

A Wound so near his Heart

Shook with Dismay his inmost Frame,
And rous'd the active Spirits in ev'ry Part.
To our own Sorrows serious Heed we give;
But for another's Woe soon cease to grieve.

STROPHE IV.

Amaz'd the trembling Father stood,
While doubtful Pleasure, mix'd with wild Surprise,
Drove from his troubled Heart the vital Flood:
His Son's stupendous Deed with wond'ring Eyes

He

He view'd, and how the gracious Will
Of Heav'n to Joy had chang'd his Fear
And falsify'd the Messengers of Ill.

Then strait he calls th' unerring Seer,
Divine *Tiresias*, whose Prophetick Tongue
Jove's sacred Mandates from the Tripod sung;
Who then to all th' attentive Throng explain'd
What Fate th' immortal Gods for *Hercules* ordain'd.

AN T I S T R O P H E IV.

What fell Despoilers of the Land
(The Prophet told) what Monsters of the Main
Should feel the Vengeance of his righteous Hand:
What savage, proud, pernicious Tyrant slain
To *Hercules* should bow his Head,
Hurl'd from his arbitrary Throne,
Whose glittering Pomp his curs'd Ambition fed,
And made indignant Nations groan.
Last, when the Giant Sons of Earth shall dare
To wage against the Gods rebellious War,
Pierc'd by his rapid Shafts on *Phlegra's* Plain
With Dust their radiant Locks the haughty Foe shall stain.

E P O D E IV.

Then shall his generous Toils for ever cease,
With Fame, with endless Life repaid;
With pure Tranquillity and heav'nly Peace:

Then

Then led in Triumph to his starry Dome,
To grace his spousal Bed shall come,
In Beauty's glowing Bloom array'd,
Immortal *Hebe*, ever young.

In *Jove's* august Abodes
Then shall he hear the bridal Song,
Then in the blest Society of Gods
The nuptial Banquet share, and rapt in Praise
And Wonder round the glitt'ring Mansion gaze.



THE ELEVENTH

N E M E A N O D E.

This Ode is inscribed to *Ariflagoras*, upon occasion of his entering on his Office of President or Governor of the Island of *Tenedos*; so that although it is placed among the *Nemean* Odes, it has no sort of relation to those Games, and is indeed properly an Inauguration Ode, composed to be sung by a Chorus at the Sacrifices and the Feast made by *Ariflagoras* and his Collegues, in the Town-Hall, at the Time of their being invested with the Magistracy, as is evident from many Expressions in the first *Strophe* and *Antistrophe*.

A R G U M E N T.

Pindar opens this Ode with an Invocation to *Vesta* (the Goddess who presided over the Courts of Justice, and whose Statue and Altar were for that Reason placed in the Town-Halls, or *Prytanæums*, as the Greeks called them) beseeching her to receive favourably *Ariflagoras* and his Collegues, who were then coming to offer Sacrifices to her, upon their entering on their Office of *Prytans* or *Magistrates* of *Tenedos*; which Office continuing for a Year, he begs the Goddess to take *Ariflagoras* under her Protection during that Time, and to conduct him to the End of it without Trouble or Disgrace. From *Ariflagoras* Pindar turns himself, in the next Place, to his Father *Arcefilas*, whom he pronounces happy, as well upon account of his Son's Merit and Honour, as upon his own great Endowments, and good Fortune; such as Beauty, Strength, Courage, Riches, and Glory resulting from his many Victories in the Games. But lest he should be too much puffed up with these Praises, he reminds him at the same Time of his Mortality, and tells him

him that his Cloathing of Flesh is perishable, and that he must e're long be clothed with Earth, the End of all Things; and yet, continues he, it is but Justice to praise and celebrate the Worthy and Deserving, who from good Citizens ought to receive all kinds of Honour and Commendation; as Aristagoras, for Instance, who hath rendered both himself and his Country illustrious by the many Victories he hath obtained, to the Number of Sixteen, over the neighbouring Youth, in the Games exhibited in and about his own Country. From whence, says the Poet, I conclude he would have come off victorious even in the Pythian and Olympic Games, had he not been restrained from engaging in those famous Lists by the too timid and cautious Love of his Parents: upon which he falls into a moral Reflection upon the Vanity of Mens Hopes and Fears, by the former of which they are oftentimes excited to Attempts beyond their Strength, which accordingly issue in their Disgrace; as, on the other Hand, they are frequently restrained by unreasonable and ill-grounded Fears, from Enterprizes, in which they would, in all probability, have come off with Honour. This Reflection he applies to Aristagoras, by saying it was very easy to foresee what Success he was like to meet with, who both by Father and Mother was descended from a long Train of great and valiant Men. But here again, with a very artful Turn of Flattery to his Father Arcellas, whom he had before represented as strong and valiant, and famous for his Victories in the Games, he observes that every Generation even of a great and glorious Family, is not equally illustrious, any more than the Fields and Trees are every Year equally fruitful; that the Gods had not given Mortals any certain Tokens, by which they might foreknow when the rich Years of Virtue should succeed; whence it comes to pass, that Men out of Self-conceit and Presumption, are perpetually laying Schemes, and forming Enterprizes, without preciously consulting Prudence or Wisdom, whose Streams, says he, lie remote, and out of the common Road. From all which he infers, that it is better to moderate our Desires, and set bounds to our Avarice and Ambition; with which moral Precept he concludes the Ode.

STROPHE I.

DAUGHTER of *Rhea*! thou, whose holy Fire
Before the awful Seat of Justice flames!

Sister of Heav'n's Almighty Sire!

Sister of *Juno*, who co-equal claims

With *Jove* to share the Empire of the Gods!

O Virgin *Vesta*! To thy dread Abodes,

Lo! *Aristagoras* directs his Pace!

Receive, and near thy sacred Scepter place

Him, and his Collegues, who with honest Zeal

O'er *Tenedos* preside, and guard the Publick Weal.

ANTISTROPHE I.

And lo! with frequent Off'rings they adore

'Thee, first invok'd in ev'ry solemn Pray'r!

To thee unmix'd Libations pour,

And fill with od'rous Fumes the fragrant Air.

Around in festive Songs the hymning Choir

Mix the melodious Voice and sounding Lyre.

While still, prolong'd with hospitable Love,

Are solemniz'd the Rites of Genial *Jove*:

¹ *Thee first invok'd in ev'ry solemn Pray'r!*]
In the *Greek* it is *αρχαίαν Σεω, πρῶτην Δεο-* voking *Vesta*; which Comment I therefore
trum, which the Scholiast explains by telling thought proper to insert into the Text,
us, that it was usual (doubtless in all solemn instead of translating the *Greek* Words literally, since without this the Meaning of
Sacrifices and Prayers) to begin with in- them is not obvious.

Then

Then guard him, *Vesta*, through his long Career,
And let him close in Joy his ministerial Year.

E P O D E I.

But hail, *Arcefilas*! all hail

To Thee! blest'd Father of a Son so great!

Thou, whom on Fortune's highest Scale
The favourable Hand of Heav'n hath set,
Thy manly Form with Beauty hath refin'd,
And match'd that Beauty with a valiant Mind.

Yet let not Man too much presume,

Tho' grac'd with Beauty's fairest Bloom;

Tho' for superior Strength renown'd;

Tho' with triumphal Chaplets crown'd:

Let him remember, that in Flesh array'd
Soon shall he see that mortal Vestment fade;
Till last imprison'd in the mould'ring Urn
To Earth, the End of all Things, he return.

S T R O P H E II.

Yet should the Worthy from the Publick Tongue
Receive their Recompence of virtuous Praise;

By ev'ry zealous Patriot sung,

And deck'd with ev'ry Flow'r of heav'nly Lays.

Such Retribution in return for Fame,

Such, *Ariflagoras*, thy Virtues claim;

Claim

Claim from thy Country, on whose glorious Brows

² The Wrestler's Chaplet still unfaded blows;

Mix'd with the great *Pancratiastick* Crown,

Which from the neighb'ring Youth thy early Valour won.

A N T I S T R O P H E II.

And (but his timid Parents' cautious Love,
Distrusting ever his too forward Hand,

Forbade their tender Son to prove

The Toils of *Pythia*² or *Olympia's* Sand)

Now by the Gods I swear, his val'rous Might

Had 'scap'd victorious in each bloody Fight;

And from *Castalia*, or where dark with Shade

The Mount of *Saturn* rears its Olive Head,

Great and illustrious home had he return'd;

While by his Fame eclips'd his vanquish'd Foes had mourn'd.

E P O D E II.

Then his triumphal Tresses bound

With the dark Verdure of th' *Olympick* Grove,

With joyous Banquets had he crown'd

The great Quinquennial Festival of *Jove*;

² *The Wrestler's Chaplet* — *Mix'd with* and the *Pancratiastick*. The first of these the great *Pancratiastick Crown*,] By these required great Strength and Agility of Body; Words it appears that the two Exercises, the second not only Strength and Agility, in which *Aristagoras* had gained so many but great Courage also, since it was a very Victories, were the *Pale*, or Wrestling, rough and dangerous Exercise: for which

And

And chear'd the solemn Pomp with Choral Lays,
Sweet Tribute, which the Muse to Virtue pays.

But, such is Man's preposterous Fate!

Now with o'er-weening Pride elate

Too far he aims his Shaft to throw,

And straining bursts his feeble Bow.

Now puffed with universal Fear,

He checks his Virtue in the mid-Career;

And of his Strength distrustful cowers and flies

The Contest, tho' impow'r'd to gain the Prize.

STROPHE III.

But who could err in prophesying Good

Of Him, whose undegenerating Breast

Swells with a Tide of Spartan Blood,

From Sire to Sire in long Succession trac'd

Up to *Pisander*; who in Days of yore

From old *Amycle* to the *Lesbian* Shore

And *Tenedos*, collegu'd in high Command

With great *Orestes*, led th' *Aeolian* Band.

Reason we need not wonder at the Parents of *Amisagoras*, for being unwilling to let him enter the Lists at *Pythia* and *Olympia*; which being the most famous of the four Sacred Games, he was sure to meet there with Antagonists, that would have put his Strength and Courage to the severest Trial, and perhaps endangered his Life. The Compliment however, which *Pindar* here

makes to him, by saying, that he could have answered for his Success, could not but be very acceptable. *Cassalia* was a River, upon whose Banks the *Pythian* Games were exhibited; and the Mount of *Saturn* was a small Hill planted with Olives, that overlooked the *Stadium* at *Olympia*. But for this and other Particulars, see the *Dissertations*.

Nor

Nor was his Mother's Race less strong and brave,
Sprung from a Stock that grew on fair³ *Ismenus'* Wave.

ANTISTROPHE III.

Tho' for long Intervals obscur'd, again
Oft-times the Seeds of lineal Worth appears.
For neither can the furrow'd Plain
Full Harvests yield with each returning Year:
Nor in each Period will the pregnant Bloom
Invest the smiling Tree with rich Perfume.
So, barren often and inglorious pass
The Generations of a noble Race;
While Nature's Vigour, working at the Root,
In After-ages swells, and blossoms into Fruit.

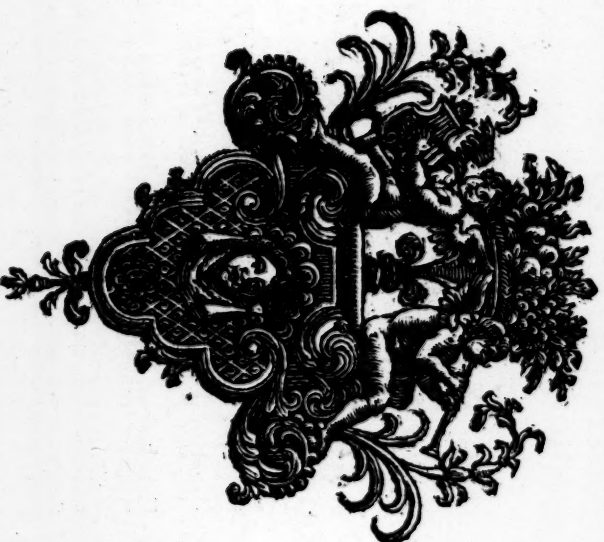
EPODE III.

Nor hath *Jove* giv'n us to foreknow
When the rich Years of Virtue shall succeed;
Yet bold and daring on we go,
Contriving Schemes of many a mighty Deed.
While Hope, fond Innate of the human Mind,
And Self-Opinion, active, rash, and blind,
Hold up a false illusive Ray,
That leads our dazzled Feet astray

³ *Ismenus' Wave.*] *Ismenus* was a River *nippus*, the Ancestor of *Ariflagoras* by his
of *Beotia*, of which Country was *Mela-* Mother's Side. •

Far from the Springs, where calm and slow
The secret Streams of Wisdom flow.

Hence should we learn our Ardour to restrain:
And limit to due Bounds the Thirst of Gain.
To Rage and Madnels oft that Passion turns,
Which with forbidden Flames despairing burns.



THE SECOND

ISTHMIAN ODE.

This Ode was written upon occasion of a Victory obtained in the Chariot-Race by *Xenocrates of Agrigentum* in the *Isthmian Games*; it is however addressed not to *Xenocrates* himself, but to his Son *Thrasylus*; from whence, and from *Pindar's* always speaking of *Xenocrates* in the Perfect Tense, it is most probable it was written after the Death of *Xenocrates*; and for this Reason it has by some been reckoned among the *Σύνων* or Elegies of *Pindar*.

A R G U M E N T.

The Introduction contains a Sort of an Apology for a Poet's taking Money for his Compositions; a thing, says Pindar, not practised formerly by the Servants of the Muses, who drew their Inspiration from Love alone, and wrote only from the Heart: but as the World is grown interested, so are the Poets become mercenary; observing the Truth of that famous Saying of Aristodemus the Spartan, Money makes the Man: a Truth, he says, which he himself experienced, having with his Riches lost all his Friends; and of this Truth, continues Pindar, you, Thrasylus, are not ignorant, for you are a wise Man: I shall therefore say no more about it, but proceed to celebrate the Victories of Xenocrates: after an Enumeration of which he passes on to the mention of the Virtues of Xenocrates, whom he praises for his Benevolence, his Publick Spirit, his Devotion to the Gods, and his constant uninterrupted Course of Hospitality in all Changes of Fortune. These Virtues of his Father he encourages Thrasylus not to conceal, through the Fear of exciting the Envy of Man-kind,

kind, and bids Nicaeippus (by whom this Ode was sent to Thrasymbulus) to tell him to publish it; concluding with observing, that a Poem is not made to continue always like a mute and motionless Statue in one Place.

STROPHE I.

THEY, *Thrasymbulus*, who in ancient Days
Triumphant mounted in the Muses' Carr,
Tuning their Harps to soft and tender Lays,
Aim'd their sweet Numbers at the Young and Fair;
Whose Beauties, ripe for Love, with rapt'rous Fires
Their wanton Hearts inflam'd and waken'd strong Desires.

ANTISTROPHE I.

As yet the Muse, despising fordid Gain,
Strung not for Gold her mercenary Lyre:
Nor did *Terpsichore* adorn her Strain
In gilded Courtesy and gay Attire,
With fair Appearances to move the Heart,
And recommend to Sale her prostituted Art.

EPODE I.

¹ But now she suffers all her tuneful Train
Far other Principles to hold;
And with the *Spartan* Sage maintain,
² That *Man* is worthless without Gold.

¹ The Apology which *Pindar* here makes fictions, however well founded it may seem for a Poet's taking Money for his Compo-

to be in the general Corruption of Man-

This Truth himself by sad Experience prov'd,
Deserted in his Need by those he lov'd.

kind, will doubtless appear somewhat extraordinary ; since Poets, though often poor, are seldom fond of acknowledging that they write with mercenary Views ; because such a Confession is not only inconsistent with the Inspiration they commonly pretend to, but must also naturally tend to render the Praises they bestow upon their Patrons suspected, and consequently diminish their Value. Yet, if we consider the Occasions, upon which these Odes were composed, as well as the Persons, to whom they were inscribed, we ought not, I think, to censure *Pindar* for taking Money for them. A Victory obtained in the Games commonly gave Birth to these Songs of Triumph ; and they were, as it may be supposed, generally written at the Solicitation of the Victors themselves, who procured them to be set to Musick, and caused them to be sung by a Chorus during the publick Rejoicings, which were made by their respective Cities, in which, doubtless, their Odes were no inconsiderable Part of the Entertainment ; and as the greatest Number of the Conquerors celebrated by *Pindar* were of Countries and Cities often very remote from, and no way related to *Thebes*, the Country of *Pindar*, it is evident he could have no manner of concern in their Victories ; and consequently no Inducement, either publick or private, to write upon such Subjects, without being rewarded for his Trouble. And if it was no Disgrace in *Pindar*, as in my Opinion it was not, to take Money upon these Occasions, there was no Reason for his being ashamed of owning it ; on the contrary, it must have been esteemed a Piece of false Modesty, and ridiculous Affectation in

him to endeavour to conceal it ; especially as the Fact could not but have been publick and notorious. As to the Value of the Praises bestowed by *Pindar* upon the Persons to whom these Odes were inscribed, it must be confessed it could not have been very great, since it cannot be supposed that *Pindar* had any personal Knowledge of far the greatest Part of the Conquerors, to whom he has addressed them. Their Characters, excepting such Parts of them as might have been collected from the Victories they obtained, as, their Agility, Dexterity, Strength, and Courage, &c. and their Wealth, inferred from their breeding, maintaining, and managing a Race of beautiful, strong, and fleet Horses ; excepting these Particulars, I say, he must have taken their Characters and Histories either from themselves, their Friends, or Countrymen, as well as the Accounts of their Families, Genealogies, and Countries, so frequently to be met with in his Odes. The chief Advantage accruing to the Persons celebrated by *Pindar*, was the having their Victories, &c. recorded by a Poet, whose Reputation would, in all Probability, not only spread their Fame as far as the *Grecian* Language was spoken or understood, but transmit it also to Posterity ; an Advantage certainly as well worthy their Ambition as the *Olympick* Crown ; and of this *Pindar* was no less sensible, than those Persons, who were desirous of purchasing it of him, and accordingly seems to have set a pretty high Price upon his Odes, as may appear from the following Story, related by the Scholiast upon the Fifth *Nemean* Ode, inscribed to *Pythear* of *Aegina*, which begins with these Words, Οὐκ ἀνδραγαθιστορίῳ εἰς κ. τ. λ.

Nor

Nor to thy Wisdom is this Truth unknown.
 No longer therefore shall the Muse delay
 To sing the rapid Steeds, and *Isthmian* Crown,
³ Which the great Monarch of the briny Flood
 On lov'd *Xenocrates* bestow'd,
 His gen'rous Cares with Honour to repay.

I am no Statuary, &c. The Scholiast upon this Passage says, that it is reported, that the Friends of *Pytheas* coming to *Pindar*, desired him to compose an Ode upon the Victory obtained by *Pytheas* in the *Pan-eratum*: but *Pindar* demanding for it three Drachmas [somewhat less than * two Shillings] they replied, it was better to have a Brazen Statue of that Price, than a Poem; and went their ways; but some time after, changing their Opinion, they returned to *Pindar*, and gave him his Price; upon which *Pindar*, a little piqued at their having so much undervalued his Poetry, began his Ode with shewing how much a Poem was to be preferred to a Statue, which could not move from the Place where it was once fixed, whereas a Poem might be transported any where, and consequently divulge in many Places the Glory of the Person, in whose Honour it was composed. The same Thought, though somewhat differently applied, occurs in the latter End of the Ode, which I have here translated; and to these Passages *Horace* plainly alludes in the following Verses of his Ode upon *Pindar*:

*Sive, quos Elea domum reducit
 Palma caelestes: pugilemve, equumve
 Dicit, et centum potiore signis
 Munere donat:*

* See *Arbutnot's* Tables.

I cannot conclude this Note without observing, that there is probably an Error in the Sum [three Drachmas] mentioned by the Scholiast as the Price demanded by *Pindar* for his Ode; for though some People may imagine that Money enough for an Ode, yet the same Persons, I dare say, will think it too small a Price for a Statue of Brass; especially if the Conquerors in the *Nemean* Games were, like those in the *Olympick*, obliged by Law to have their Statues precisely of the same Dimensions with themselves, which is most probable.

² That *Man* is *worthless without Gold*.] in the Original it is *χωρηδία χρυματ' αινε;*, i. e. Money, Money, is the Man; or, according to our *English* Proverb, *Money makes the Man*. The Name of this *Spartan* Sage was *Aristodemus*: the Scholiast informs us, that *Andron* of *Ephesus* reckoned this *Spartan* Philosopher among the *Seven wise Men of Greece*.

³ Which the great Monarch of the briny Flood &c.] The *Isthmian* Games were sacred to *Neptune*, who also, according to the *Greek* Mythology, was the Inventor or Creator of Horses; for both which Reasons the Victory obtained by *Xenocrates* is here said to be the Gift of *Neptune*.

STROPHE II.

⁴Him too, his *Agriæuntum's* brightest Star,
Latona's Son with favourable Eyes
 At *Crisa* view'd, and blest'd his conqu'ring Carr;
 Nor, when, contending for the noble Prize,
Nicomachus, on *Athens'* craggy Plain,
 With dextrous Art controll'd the Chariot-steering Rein,

ANTISTROPHE II.

Did *Phœbus* blame the Driver's skilful Hand;
 But with *Athenian* Palms his Master grac'd:
 His Master, greeted in th' *Olympick* Sand;
 And evermore with grateful Zeal embrac'd
 By the great Priests, whose Herald Voice proclaims
 Th' *Elean* Feasts of *Jove*, and *Pisa's* sacred Games.

⁴ *Him too* — *Latona's Son* — at *Crisa* view'd, &c.] In these and the following Verses, *Pindar* enumerates the Victories obtained by *Xenocrates* in several Games, as in the *Pythian*, in some Games exhibited at *Athens*, and in the *Olympick*. In the second *Olympick* Ode, inscribed to *Theron* the Brother of *Xenocrates*, *Pindar* takes notice of the *Isthmian* and *Pythian* Crowns gained by the two Brothers, whom he therefore styles *Copartners in immortal Praise*; but says that *Theron alone* gained the Victory at *Olympia*: from whence it is evident that this Ode, in which mention

is made of an *Olympick* Crown obtained by *Xenocrates*, was written upon Occasion of another *Isthmian* Victory gained by *Xenocrates*, subsequent to that mentioned by *Pindar* in his Ode to *Theron*; and consequently that the present Ode was written some time after *that*, and another [the Sixth *Pythian* Ode] composed by *Pindar* on Occasion of *Xenocrates* having come off victorious in the *Pythian* Games. The Date however of this Ode is uncertain; it is probable, as has been observed, that it was written after the Death of *Xenocrates*.

EPODE II.

Him, on the Golden Lap of Victory
 Reclining his illustrious Head,
 They hail'd with sweetest Melody;
 And through the Land his Glory spread,
 Thro' the fam'd *Allis* of *Olympick* *Jove*;
 Where in the Honours of the sacred Grove
 The Children of *Aeneidamus* shar'd;
 For not unknown to Victory and Praise
 Oft, *Thrasylulus*, hath thy Mansion heard
 The pleasing Concerts of the youthful Choir,
 Attemper'd to the warbling Lyre,
 And the sweet Mixture of triumphal Lays.

STROPHE III.

In smooth and flow'ry Paths th' Encomiast treads,
 When to the Mansions of the Good and Great
 In Pomp the Nymphs of *Helicon* he leads:
 Yet thee, *Xenocrates*, to celebrate,
 Thy all-surpassing Gentleness to sing
 In equal Strains, requires an all-surpassing String.

^s Thro' the fam'd *Allis* of *Olympick* apart by *Hercules* for a Banqueting-Place
Jove; &c.] The sacred Grove of *Jupiter* for those who contended, or rather con-
 at *Olympia* was named *Allis*. This *Allis*, quered, in the *Olympick* Games: by those
 as we learn from *Pindar* himself (*Olymp.* Words, therefore,
 Ode x and l v.) and his Scholiast, was set

ANTISTROPHE III.

To all benevolent, rever'd, belov'd,
 In ev'ry focal Virtue he excell'd;
 And with his conqu'ring Steeds at *Corinth* prov'd,
 How sacred the Decrees of *Greece* he held;
 With equal Zeal th'Immortals he ador'd,
 And spread with frequent Feasts his consecrated Board.

EPODE III.

Nor did he e'er when rose a stormy Gale
 Relax his hospitable Course,
 Or gather in his swelling Sail:
 But finding ever some Resource
 The fierce Extremes of Fortune to allay,
 Held on with equal Pace his constant Way.

*Where in the Honours of the sacred Grove
 The Children of Æneïdamus shar'd;*

Pindar means to say, that *Theron* and *Xenocrates*, the Sons of *Æneïdamus*, gained the *Olympick* Crown: and by the following,

For not unknown to Victory and Praise &c.
 he alludes to the Odes and Musick usually composed and sung on those Occasions.

And with his conqu'ring Steeds at Corinth
prov'd,

How sacred the Decrees of Greece he held!]
 We are told in the *Latin* Notes upon this

Passage, that *Arctius* (though upon what Authority is uncertain) affirms, that there was a general Law in *Greece*, requiring all, who were able, to breed Horses; which, considering how scarce that useful Animal was in *Greece*, even after the Time of *Pindar*, is not improbable. The several kinds of Horse-Races in the Games were certainly instituted with this View, as I have observed in the *Dissertation*.

But finding ever some Resource &c.] The Original in this Place is so obscure, that the Learned will pardon me, if I have not hit upon the right Meaning.

Permit

Permit not then thro' Dread of envious Tongues,
Thy Father's Worth to be in Silence lost ;
Nor from the Publick keep these choral Songs.

Not in one Corner is the Poet's Strain
Form'd, like a Statue, to remain,
This, *Nicasippus*, tell my honour'd Host.



The Fourth Ode of the Fourth Book of

H O R A C E.

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem, &c.

Written at Oxford MDCCXXXV.

This Ode, one of the most *Pindarick* in *Horace*, was written at the Command of *Augustus*, to celebrate the Victory of his Son-in-law *Drusus* over the *Rheti Vindelici*, a Nation at the Foot of the *Alps*, between the *Leck* and the *Imn*. After two noble Comparisons, extremely in the Manner of *Pindar*, the Poet introduces a Compliment to *Augustus*, under whose Tuition *Drusus* and his Brother *Tiberius* were bred; and then takes occasion (as the *Greek* Poet generally does) to make an Encomium upon the Country and Family of his Hero; particularly upon that *Claudius Nero* who conquered *Asdrubal* on the Banks of the River *Metaurus*; the Praise of which Action, together with that of the whole *Roman* People, he much enlivens and raises, by putting it into the Mouth of *Hannibal*, whom he introduces complaining of his Brother's Defeat and Death. This artful Panegyrick is a beautiful Instance of the Judgment of *Horace*, who was in that Quality superior to *Pindar*; though in Sublimity and Fire of Genius he was perhaps inferior to him, as he modestly confesses himself.

I.

AS the wing'd Minister of Thund'ring Jove,
To whom he gave his dreadful Bolts to bear,
Faithfull¹ Assistant of his Master's Love,
King of the wand'ring Nations of the Air,

II.

When balmy Breezes fan'd the vernal Sky,
On doubtful Pinions left his Parent Nest,
In flight Effays his growing Force to try,
While inborn Courage fir'd his gen'rous Breast:

III.

Then darting with impetuous Fury down,
The Flocks he slaughter'd, an unpractis'd Foe;
Now his ripe Valour to Perfection grown
The scaly Snake and crested Dragon know:

IV.

Or, as a Lyon's youthful Progeny,
Wean'd from his savage Dam and milky Food,
The grazing Kid beholds with fearful Eye,
Doom'd first to stain his tender Fangs in Blood:

¹ In the Rape of *Ganymede*, who was
carried up to *Jupiter* by an Eagle, accord-

V.

Such *Drusus*, young in Arms, his Foes beheld,
 The *Alpine Rheti*, long unmatch'd in Fight;
 So were their Hearts with abject Terror quell'd;
 So sunk their haughty Spirit at the Sight.

VI.

Tam'd by a Boy, the fierce *Barbarians* find
 How guardian Prudence guides the youthfull Flame,
 And how Great *Cæsar's* fond paternal Mind
 Each gen'rous *Nero* forms to early Fame!

VII.

A valiant Son springs from a valiant Sire:
 Their Race by Mettle sprightly Coursers prove;
 Nor can the warlike Eagle's active Fire
 Degenerate to form the tim'rous Dove.

VIII.

But Education can the Genius raise
 And wife Instructions native Virtue aid;
 Nobility without them is Dilgrace,
 And Honour is by Vice to Shame betray'd.

IX.

Let red *Metaurus* stain'd with *Punic* Blood,
Let mighty *Asdrubal* subdu'd confess
How much of Empire and of Fame is ow'd
By thee, O *Rome*, to the *Neronian* Race.

X.

Of this be Witness that auspicious Day,
Which, after a long, black, tempestuous Night,
First smil'd on *Latium* with a milder Ray,
And cheer'd our drooping Hearts with dawning Light;

XI.

Since the dire *African* with wasteful Ire
Rode o'er the ravag'd Towns of *Italy*,
As through the Pine Trees flies the raging Fire,
Or *Eurus* o'er the vext *Sicilian* Sea.

XII.

From this bright *Aera*, from this prosperous Field
The *Roman* Glory dates her rising Pow'r;
From hence 'twas giv'n her conqu'ring Sword to wield,
Raise her fall'n Gods, and ruin'd Shrines restore.

XIII. Thus

XIII.

Thus *Hannibal* at length despairing spoke:

- “ Like Stags to rav’nous Wolves an easy Prey,
“ Our feeble Arms a valiant Foe provoke,
“ Whom to elude and ’scape were Victory;

XIV.

- “ A dauntless Nation, that from *Trojan* Fires,
“ Hostile *Ausonia*, to thy destin’d Shore
“ Her Gods, her infant Sons, and aged Sires
“ Thro’ angry Seas and adverse Tempests bore.

XV.

- “ As on high *Algidus* the sturdy Oak,
“ Whose spreading Boughs the Axe’s Sharpness feel,
“ Improves by Loss, and thriving with the Stroke,
“ Draws Health and Vigour from the wounding Steel.

XVI.

- “ Not *Hydra* sprouting from her mangled Head
“ So tir’d the baffled Force of *Hercules*,
“ Nor *Thebes*, nor *Colchis* such a Monster bred,
“ Pregnant of Ills, and fam’d for Prodigies.

XVII. “ Plunge

XVII.

“ Plunge her in Ocean, like the Morning Sun,
 “ Brighter she rises from the Depths below:
 “ To Earth with unavailing Ruin thrown,
 “ Recruits her Strength, and foils the wond’ring Foe.

XVIII.

“ Ah! now no more my haughty Messenger
 “ Shall bear the joyfull Tale of Victory:
 “ Lost, lost is all our long Renown in War!
 “ With *Asdrubal* our Hopes and Fortune die!

XIX.

“ What shall the *Claudian* Valour not perform,
 “ Which Pow’r Divine guards with propitious Care,
 “ Which Wisdom steers through all the dang’rous Storm,
 “ Thro’ all the Rocks and Shoals of doubtful War?



Handwritten flourish or signature.

Iphigenia in Tauris.

A.

TRAGEDY.

Translated from the Greek of

EURIPIDES.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

IPHIGENIA.

ORESTES.

PYLADES.

Chorus of *Grecian Women-Slaves* attending *Iphigenia*.

Shepherd.

THOAS, King of *Taurick Scythia*.

Messenger.

MINERVA.

IPHIGENIA prologuizes.

SCENE lies on the Sea-Shore near the Temple of *Diana*, which, as appears from several Passages in this Play, stood upon the Straits, which lie between the *Palus Meotis* and the *Euxine* Sea, not far from two Rocks called the *Symplegades*, i. e. the *clashing* Rocks, from their seeming to those who sail along these Straits, according to the different Positions they are in, to clash and meet together, and then to open, and separate.

Advertisèment.

SO many Writers, both in *English* and *French* (a Language now almost universally understood) having treated at large of the *ancient Drama*, I cannot but think it would be impertinent in me to say any thing here upon that Subject: especially as I have nothing new to offer. The same may be said with regard to any Observations I might make upon the particular *Piece* now before us, the Beauties and Defects of which will easily appear to those, who are acquainted with the Writings above mentioned, and are, besides, pointed out with great Taste and Judgment by Father *Brumcy* in his Reflections upon this very Tragedy, which he hath inserted in the second Volume of his *Théâtre des Grecs*. I have, however, taken the Liberty of making a few critical Remarks; which, together with some historical Explanations, I have thrown into Notes upon those Passages, that gave occasion to them.

I shall therefore content myself with saying a Word or two in behalf of the Translation, which I here offer to the Publick. My first and principal Care was to render the Words of the Original as literally, as the different Genius of the *Greek* and *English* Poetical Languages would allow; that I might give the *English* Reader as exact an Idea, as I was able, of the Style and Manner of *Euripides*, whose Characteristick seems to be *Simplicity* and *Conciseness*. If by endeavouring to imitate these two Excellencies of my original Author I may by some be thought to have fallen below the Pomp and Dignity of Tragedy, as she appears upon the *modern Theatre*, I desire it may be considered, that my Business was to *translate*, not to *compose*; to *copy*, not *design*. By this Plea I do not mean to shift off the Blame from myself upon my Author, whom perhaps I have dishonoured

and degraded in my Translation; much less would I have it inferred from hence, that I prefer the glittering Theatrical Ornaments of modern Tragedy, to the simple native Majesty of the ancient. There is a certain Medium between creeping Prose, and strutting Poetry, which in my Opinion suits best with Dialogue, and best expresses the genuine Workings of a Mind, distemper'd and agitated by Passion, which seldom affords us either Leisure or Inclination to attend to the dressing of our Thoughts. In those Situations we are most commonly too much taken up with ourselves, to regard others; and speak rather from the Fullness of the Heart than the Luxuriancy of the Imagination.

As the *Greek* Tragedy doth not, like ours, consist wholly of Dialogue, and one uniform Verification, but admits of a great Variety of Measures, and even of long Odes compos'd for Musick, and sung by the Chorus, I have, with a view of giving the *English* Reader a complete Notion of the *Greek* Theatre, introduced in my Translation a Variety of Numbers, and rendered the Odes in Rhyme. Not that there is any thing in the *Greek* or *Roman* Poetry in the least resembling what we call Rhyme, which is a modern *Gotbick* Invention; but I imagined that Rhyme would best serve to represent the Difference between the Dialogue and the Ode: in the Composition of which latter, as it was always intended to be set to Musick, and sung by the Chorus, the Poet gave free Scope to his Imagination to wander through all the magick Regions of Poetry; and indulg'd himself in the Use of all those *Liberties*, as well in the *Matter*, as in the *Numbers* and *Diction*, which a great Genius only feels the Want of, and only knows how to manage with Discretion and Success. The Ode therefore is generally written in a very high Strain, abounding in Figures, bold and sudden Transitions, and full of Fire and Fancy. Instances of which the Reader will see in the three Odes of this Tragedy, especially the last; though it may be doing an Injury to *Euripides* to judge of their Beauties by my Translation. Besides,
it

it must be remembered, that the Odes sung by the Chorus (which is always interwoven with the Action of the Drama) generally take their rise from some Part of the Subject, to which they ought to bear a constant, though perhaps remote relation; and are consequently diversified according to the various Incidents and Circumstances that give them Birth. Hence they are sometimes *plaintive*, at other times *moral* and *religious*, and so forth. We must not therefore expect to find them all of the same rapturous and enthusiastick Strain. They are however all written in a higher *Mood*, than the Dialogue, and so I have endeavoured to translate them.

I shall not here take upon me to determine whether the *ancient Tragedy*, with this Mixture of Odes and Musick, be preferable to the more simple, and therefore, as it should seem, more natural Composition of the modern; such I mean as are not written in Rhyme. I own that for my part I incline rather to the latter. Indeed if Musick may be allowed a Place in Pieces of this kind, intended for Pictures of Nature and human Life, it cannot be more properly allotted than to the Chorus; consisting generally of Persons, concerned but in a very small Degree in the *Action* and Catastrophe of the Drama, in which they are rather *Spectators* than *Actors*.

But Musick, and even the *Ode* was not in the *Greek Tragedy* confined to the Chorus only: The other Personages, even those of the principal and greatest Characters of the Drama, were likewise introduced *singing*, sometimes in partnership with others, sometimes by themselves; nay the Dialogue itself was set to some particular kinds of *Harmony*, and spoken, or rather *chanted*, in what we call *Recitativo*. From all which it appears, that the modern *Italian Opera* is a more exact Copy of the *ancient Drama* than any of our *English*, or even than the *French Tragedies*. And though the palpable Absurdities of *warbling Heroes*, *musical Dialogues*, *tunefull Messagers*, and so forth, have now very justly sunk the *Opera* almost into universal Contempt, yet will I venture to affirm, that the *Greek Tragedy*

gedy contained in the *Representation* still more monstrous Absurdities, such as the *Persona* or *Vizard*, covering the whole Head and Face of the *Actor*, with a gaping Mouth, ever open ; *Bushkins* rising to the height of *two Feet*, with *false Hands* and *Arms* long in proportion, and many other strange Additions, all tending to raise and swell the Actor to the imagined Bulk and Stature of the Hero he represented. The only Advantage which the *ancient Operas* (for so they may very properly be styled) have over the modern, is owing entirely to the superior *Genius* of their great Authors ; which enabled them at the same time to comply with many Rules in themselves ridiculous, because unnatural, and yet to exhibit such Pictures of human *Life* and *Nature*, as very few if any of their Successors have been able to surpass.

The *Samson Agonistes* of *Milton*, the great Follower and Rival of the Ancients, is a noble and exact Imitation of the *Greek Tragedy* ; from whence, it must be acknowledged, the *English* Reader may form to himself a much more just Idea of the Beauties and Perfections of the ancient Dramatick Writers, than from this Translation : from which however he may reap the Advantage of seeing, though it be but a rude and imperfect Draught of one of those Models, upon which that admirable Piece was framed.



IPHIGENIA in ¹Tauris.

A

T R A G E D Y.

A C T I. S C E N E I.

Enter IPHIGENIA.

*Iph.*² **F**ROM *Pelops*, who in *Pisa's* dusty Course
Won the fair Daughter of *Oenomaüs*,
Sprang *Atreus*, Father of two noble Sons,
Great *Menelas*, and greater *Agamemnon* ;

¹ *Scythian Taurica* was a Peninsula, now known by the Name of the *Crim Tartary*.

² This Speech of *Iphigenia* is in the Nature of an *Argument*, and intended to inform the Audience of what had passed antecedent to the Commencement of the Action of the Drama, yet relating to it, and for that reason necessary to be known, for the better understanding the State and Situation of the several Characters, that are to appear upon the Theatre. But though such a Knowledge of the previous Events may be thought both useful and proper to be laid before the Spectators, yet I must own that the Manner, in which *Euripides*

in this, and many other of his Tragedies, has chosen to convey it to them, appears to me very unartful, not to say absurd. *Iphigenia* in a long Soliloquy enters into such a Detail, as is not, I think, to be justified by those Reasons, that authorize the Use of Soliloquies on the Stage. I say, on the Stage ; for in ordinary Life no Man in his right Senses talks aloud to himself, at least for any Time. But as it may sometimes be requisite for the Audience to know what passes in the secret and inmost Thoughts of the Personages of the Drama, which can no otherwise be effected than by their uttering their Thoughts in Words,

Of

136 IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

Of whom and *Spartan Clytemnestra* born
Come I, the wretched *Iphigenia*.
I, whom my cruel Father, on that Coast,
Where the *Euripus*, vex'd by frequent Storms,

the best Dramatick Writers have been often obliged to have recourse to Soliloquy, which is indeed *Thinking aloud*. But in Soliloquies the Person speaking is not to be supposed to understand that he is speaking, that is, uttering his Thoughts; much less ought an Actor, either upon these or any other Occasions, to take Notice of the Audience. He has nothing to do with any body but the Personages of the Drama, and when alone upon the Stage, is to suppose himself really and truly alone. For this Reason, though he *thinks aloud*, he is not to imagine that any one either does or can hear him: and for one Personage of the Drama to take Notice or over-hear what is spoken by another in a Soliloquy, or *aside* to himself, which is a kind of Soliloquy, is equally absurd.

From this View of the Reasons and Nature of Soliloquies let us proceed to the Examination of that now before us: And first, we may observe, that it is entirely *narrative*; and as such contains many minute Particulars, proper perhaps to inform the Audience, but not such, as we may suppose to pass in the Mind of a Person revolving with himself the Transactions of his former Life. Of this kind is the Genealogy of *Iphigenia*, with which she opens her Speech, the History of her Sacrifice at *Aulis*, her Escape from thence, and her Settlement in *Scythia*, with her Office there, the Name and Character of the King of that Country, and the barbarous and inhuman Custom of sacrificing to *Diana* all the *Greeks*, that happened by whatever Accident, to arrive in *Taurick Scythia*.

To these may be added her Dream, with its Interpretation, &c. The greatest part of these Particulars might indeed have been introduced into a Soliloquy under the Form and Dress of *Reflections*, as will be apparent to any one, who compares this Speech of *Iphigenia*, with those of *Samson* in the Beginning of *Milton's Samson Agonistes*; where *Samson* bewailing his present Condition is naturally led to reflect upon his past Conduct, and those Circumstances of his Life, which principally conduced to bring him into that low State of Misery, under which he makes his first Appearance upon the State. By these means the Audience is let into such Particulars, as were necessary to discover who the Person was, that then entered upon the Theatre, together with the Causes and Nature of his Situation; and the Poet has artfully avoided all those Absurdities, which we have just now censured in *Euripides*; whom it is probable he proposed for his Example in Dramatick Writing, since it is sure that he had read and studied him with such Care and Attention, as to make many Notes and Corrections, which are preserved by *Jesua Barnes*, in his Edition of this Author's Works in *Greek*.

Another Fault observable in this Speech of *Iphigenia* is, that she seems to suppose she is speaking before an Audience, as is plainly implied in these Words,

I say no more;
For dreadfull is thy Deity, Diana!
Yet thus much may I tell &c.

and in these,

With

With restless Tumult rolls his curling Wave,
 To chaste *Diana* meant to offer up,
 A spotless Sacrifice in *Helen's* Cause.
 For by his Orders join'd, in *Aulis'* Bay
 The Fleet of *Greece*, a Thousand Vessels, rode;
 Impatient all to seize the Spoil of *Troy*,
 The glorious Prize of War and Victory;
 Impatient to avenge the foul Affront
 Done to the Bed of *Helen*, and to shew
 The gen'ral Love to injur'd *Menelas*.
 But in the Harbour lock'd by adverse Winds,
 Their Leader *Agamemnon* of the Gods
 By Augury and Sacrifice inquir'd,
 And by the Prophets, Heav'n's Interpreters;
 When *Calchas*, the wise Seer, this Answer gave:
 "Commander of th' united Arms of *Greece*,
 "Ne'er shall thy Fate-bound Navy quit this Shore,

*Yet sure the Vision which last Night disturb'd
 My troubled Spirit, to the empty Air
 May, without Blame, be publish'd, &c.*

The Poet indeed hath in these Words to
 the empty Air thrown in a Kind of Salvo,
 but whether that is not removing one Ab-
 surdity by another, I leave the Reader to
 Judge.

Milton in the Opening of his celebrated
 Mask called *Comus*, hath fallen into all the
 Errors here charged upon his Master *Euri-
 pides*; but as we may pardon the former

in consideration of his having written that
 Piece in his Youth, and after Examples of
 great Reputation and Authority; so it may
 be said in Excuse for the latter, that he
 wrote in the youthful Days of *Tragedy*, be-
 fore it was brought to that State of Ma-
 turity and Perfection, which it appears in
 the Pieces of some of our best modern
 Writers; who, I think, we must acknow-
 ledge, have avoided many Absurdities of
 the Ancients, tho' we shou'd not allow
 them to have equall'd their Beauties and
 Perfections.

S

" Till

138 IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

“ Till *Iphigenia*, thy fair Daughter, bleed,

“ An Off’ring to *Diana*: By a Vow

“ Thou stand’st of old engag’d to sacrifice

“ The fairest Produce of the Year to her,

“ Whole Radiancchears the Night; and that same Year

“ Did *Clytemnestra* bring this Daughter forth,

“ Who (for on me the rev’rend Seer bestow’d

“ The Prize of *Fairest*) must be now the Victim.”

Then by the Artifice of *Aly Ulysses*,

And under the Pretence of a feign’d Marriage

With young *Achilles*, was I brought to *Aulis*;

Inveigled from my Mother, and there laid

High on the Altar; and to ev’ry Eye

There did I seem to bleed; but chaste *Diana*

Stole me away unseen, and in my Stead

A fitter Victim gave, a sacred Hind:

Thence thro’ the lucid Fields of Air convey’d,

She plac’d me here in *Scythia*, in whose Soil

O’er barb’rous Nations reigns a barb’rous King,

For winged Swiftnefs fam’d, and *Thoas* call’d.

Here hath the Goddess, in this sacred Fane,

Appointed me her Priestess, here to serve;

Where a detested Custom, sanctify’d

Under the specious Name of Sacrifice,

Too long hath been observ’d. — I say no more,

For

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 139

For dreadful is thy Deity, *Diana!*

Yet thus much may I tell—Whatever *Greek*

(For so the ancient Statutes of the Realm

Ordain) here chanceth to arrive, forthwith

I lead him to the Altar, and begin

The solemn Sacrifice; the murd'rous Part

I leave to others, who retir'd within,

Deep in the Sanctuary's close Recels,

Perform the Rites, that may not be divulg'd.

Yet sure the Vision which last Night disturb'd

My troubled Spirit, to the empty Air

May without Blame be publish'd; and to tell it,

Tho' to the empty Air, may sooth my Grief.

Methought, that having chang'd this barb'rous Land

For my dear native *Argos*, there once more

I dwelt and slept amid my Virgin Train;

When, lo! a sudden Earthquake shook the Ground;

I from the tott'ring Chamber frighted fled,

And where I stood aloof, methought, beheld

The Battlements disjointed, and the Roof

From its aerial Height come tumbling down.

One only Pillar, as it seem'd, remain'd

Of all my Father's House; whose Capital

Was with dishevel'd golden Tresses hung,

And, stranger yet, with human Speech endow'd.

This Pillar, reverently acting then
 The Duties of the Function here enjoin'd me,
 I purify'd with Water, as ordain'd
 For Sacrifice, and as I wash'd, I wept.
 This was my Vision; which, I fear, portends
 Thy Death, *Orestes*, whom in Emblem thus
 I wash'd and purify'd for Sacrifice;
For Sons are Pillars of a Family;
And whomsoever I wash is doom'd to bleed.
 Nor can this Vision to my *Friends* belong,
 For when I perish'd on the Shore of *Aulis*
 Old *Strophius* had no Son: therefore to thee,
 Belov'd *Orestes*, will I pay the Rites
 Due to the Dead, tho' absent — With my Train
 Of *Grecian* Women, which King *Thoas* gave
 Here to attend me, these may I perform.
 But what unusual Cause with-holds their Presence
 Now in the Temple, go I to inquire.

Exit IPHI.

³ *Strophius*, King of *Phocis*, married *An-* as *Bruney* observes, is very artfully thrown
~~ixibia~~ the Sister of *Agamemnon*, by whom in here to prepare the Reader for the Arriv-
 he had a Son called *Pylades*, so famous for val of *Pylades*, who makes his Appearance
 his Friendship with *Orestes*. This History, in the next Scene.

ACT

ACT I. SCENE II.

Enter ORESTES and PYLADES.

Or. Be wary, and take heed the Coast be clear.

Py. My watchful Eyes are turn'd on ev'ry Side.

Or. What think'st thou, *Pylades*? is this the Temple

Which we from *Argos* steer'd our Course to find?

Py. To me, and sure to thee, it seems no other.

Or. And this the Altar wet with *Grecian* Gore?

Py. Behold the Top all crimson'd o'er with Blood!

Or. And feel those horrid Trophies! which in Air

Gringhaſtly from the Temple's awful Dome!

Py. Theſe are the Spoils of ſlaughter'd Wanderers.

Or. Then to be circumſpect imports us much.

Oh! *Phæbus*, wherefore hath thy Voice divine

Thus far engag'd me in this deadly Snare?

E'er ſince in Vengeance of my Father's Death

I flew my Mother, by the Furies driv'n,

Successively from Place to Place I flew,

A reſtleſs wretched Exile; ranging far

In painful Wandrings from my native Home;

Till coming to thy Shrine, of thee I fought,

How I might beſt reſtrain the whirling Rage

That drove me madding thro'out *Greece*? where find

A happy

A happy Respite from my ceaseless Toils?
Then didst thou bid me to the *Taurick* Shore
Direct my Voyage, to thy Sister's Shrine,
And bear the Statue of the Goddess thence,
Which, as those People tell, came down from Heav'n.
This, whether gain'd by Stratagem, or Force,
Or Fortune, in contempt of ev'ry Danger,
Thou to th' *Athenians* badest me convey;
Then (for no farther Task didst thou impose)
Peace didst thou promise me, and Rest from Woe.
Here therefore, in obedience to thy Word,
To an unknown, un hospitable Shore
I come——But, *Pyldes*, thy Counsel now
Must I demand, since Friendship has engag'd
Thee also to partake, and aid my Toil.
Say, how shall we proceed? Thou see'st the Height
Of yon surrounding Tow'r departing hence;
Shall we adventure by the winding Steps
To clime the Dome? but who shall be our Guide?
Or thro' the brazen Gates shou'd we resolve
To force our Passage; know we more of these?
And if in either Act we be surpriz'd,
Thou know'st we perish. — Rather let us fly
Back to the Vessel, which convey'd us hither.
Py. Fly! O no! we cannot, must not fly, *Orestes*;

We

We are not wont to fly ; nor ought we sure
Thus to contemn the Oracles of Heav'n.

Yet from the Temple let us now depart,
And in the cavern'd Rocks, whose craggy Feet
The wild Wave washes, from our Vessels far
Ourselves conceal, lest any one perchance

The Bark descrying, shou'd inform the King,
And to superior Force we fall a Prey.

But when the dim and black-ey'd Night appears,
Then let us call our Courage to our Aid,
Try all the Arts and wily Pow'rs of Wisdom
To bear the polish'd Goddess from her Shrine.

May we not, think'st thou, thro' yon Aperture
That parts those sculptur'd Trigllyphs, find the means
To let our Bodies down ? “ The brave defy

“ And conquer Toil and Danger ; while the Coward,

“ Distrusting the Success, makes no attempt ;

“ Meanly content to *do* and to *be* nothing.

Or. Are we indeed, thro' such a Tract of Sea,

Come to the End perhaps of all our Toil,
Now baffled to return and deedless home ?
Nay, *Pylades*, for well hast thou advis'd,
Let us obey the Gods — Depart we now ;
And till the Night in some close Cavern hide.

“ The Deity can never be in fault,

“ Tho'

144 IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

“Tho’ his own Oracles unfaithfull prove.

“’Tis ours to labour, to attempt, to dare:

“Danger and Difficulty to the Young

“Are but a poor Excuse for doing nothing.”

Exeunt OREST. and PYLA.

ACT. I. SCENE III.

Enter IPHIGENIA.

Iph. Inhabitants of *Scythia*, ye who dwell

Where between jutting Rocks the *Euxine* foams,

And see him often close his craggy Jaws

On the forlorn and wandering Mariners;

Peace! nor disturb me with unhallow’d Sounds!

Mountain-Goddess of the Chace,

Sprung of *Jove’s* divine Embrace,

Lo! with chaste unsupported Feet

I approach thy hallow’d Seat;

And with reverential Dread

To thy glitt’ring Temple tread;

To thy Dome, with Gold emblaz’d,

High on stately Columns rais’d!

There serve I, from all I lov’d

Far, alas! how far remov’d;

Far

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 145

Far from *Greece*, my native Soil,
Fam'd for ev'ry warlike Toil;
Greece, for Steeds and Men renown'd,
Greece, with Tow'ry Cities crown'd.
Far from the *Elysian* Plains,
Where eternal Verdure reigns;
Where thro' high embow'ring Woods
Roll *Eurota's* chilling Floods;
Where deny'd to my sad Eyes
Agamemnon's Mansions rife.

Enter CHORUS.

Cho. Lo! here we come, obedient to thy Summons.

But say, what Tidings; whence this Brow of Care;
And wherefore hast thou call'd us to the Temple?
Say, princely Virgin, Daughter of that King,
Who in a thousand Vessels o'er the Main
Led the embattled *Greeks* to *Ilion's* Walls?

Iph. Oh! Virgins, on a melancholy Strain
Is my sad Soul employ'd, a mournfull Dirge
Unmusical and harsh, alas! alas!
What bitter Sorrows from domestick Evils
Are fall'n upon me! while I mourn
A Brother's Death, to me declar'd
By the dire Vision, which last Night
In Dreams dismay'd my Soul!—

T

Alas!

146 IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

Alas! my Desolation is complete!
 Fall'n is my Father's wretched Progeny,
 And the whole Race is now no more!—
 What Miseries have they in *Argos* seen!—
 Oh Fate! I had but one, one darling Brother,
 And thou hast torn him from me, and has sent,
 Untimely sent him to the Grave;
Him, for whose Manes I prepare
 These mournfull Obsequies; and on the Ground
 With all due Rites the mix'd Libation pour;
 Blood, Water, Milk from Mountain Heifers drawn,
 The Bee's sweet Tribute, and the Vine's rich Juice,
 An Off'ring ever grateful to the Dead.
 Then hither bring the consecrated Bowl,
 The Vase to *Pluto* sacred and to Death.

[*She takes the Bowl from the Chorus and pours
 out the Libation.*]

“ Offspring of *Agamemnon*, this to thee,
 “ Now wandering in the Shades below, I pour;
 “ And oh! accept the Boon! for on thy Grave
 “ Ne'er shall I offer up my Grief-shorn Locks,
 “ Nor wet thy *Albes* with my streaming Tears.
 “ For far from that dear Land, that gave thee Birth
 “ Dwells thy sad Sister in the borrow'd Form
 “ Of a young Hind there deem'd to have been slain.

Cho. In Notes responsive to thy mournfull Strain,

In barbarous *Mæotic* Dialects,

To thee our royal Priests will we sing

A solemn Service for the Dead,

A melancholy Dirge;

As solemn and as sad

As *Pluto's* joyless Songs compos'd for Woe.

Iph. O princely Race of *Atreus*! now, where now

Is fled the Lustre of the Regal Crown?

My Father's Line, alas! is now extinct;

And who of all those potent Kings remains

Now to command in *Argos*?—Grief on Grief

Springs fresh each Morn with the revolving Sun;

Who from the Spectacle of our sad Woes

⁴ Once turn'd his lucid Eye, and fled away.

What a black Tide of Anguish, and Distress,

And Murder hath o'erwhelm'd our wretched House?

All from that fatal Source of Strife deriv'd,

The Golden Ram, whose rich Possession gave

A Title to the Crown. And how hath Heav'n

Avenge'd those Murders since on all our Race!

And me, even now with Woes unmerited,

⁴ *Iphigenia* here touches slightly upon the Crime of *Atreus*, from whom *Thyestes*, his Brother, having stolen the Golden Ram, upon which depended the Destiny of his Kingdom, he in Revenge slew the Son of

Thyestes, and served up his Flesh to his Father at a Banquet; from the Horror of which Spectacle the Sun is fabled to have turn'd his Chariot, and gone back toward the East.

148 IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

Doth some malignant Demon still pursue
That inauspicious Daemon, who presided
At *Clytemnestra's* Marriage; from which Hour,
Even from the luckless Moment of my Birth
The Destinies decreed Affliction to me;
And to Affliction did my Mother breed
And train me up, the first-born of her Bed,
To expiate with my Blood my Father's Guilt:
A Sacrifice unpleasing to the Gods.—
With what Congratulations, with what Vows,
On the gay Chariot was I plac'd,
And to the Sands of *Aulis* led,
To be the Bride—alas! disastrous Bride
Of the young Son of *Theris*, great *Achilles*!—
But now on this inhospitable Shore
I dwell, in these unlovely Habitations
A helpless Stranger, without Husband, Child,
Or Country, or Relation, or a Friend.
I who was once in Marriage fought
By ev'ry noble *Greek*, no more
Shall henceforth join the Virgin Choir,
And Songs to *Juno's* Praise in *Argos* sing:
No more in the historick Loom
The Figure of *Athenian Pallas* trace,
And paint her Triumphs o'er the Giant-Race.

But

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 149

But here am doom'd to stain with Gore
The ruthless Altar, and to hear
The lamentable Groans, and thrilling Shrieks
Of bleeding Strangers, who for Pity plead,
And move my Bosom with imploring Tears.—
But I remember now these Woes no more;
And thou, *Orestes*, thou art all my Grief:
Thee I lament, and mourn thee dead;—
Thee, whom I left yet sucking at the Breast,
A tender Sapling in thy Mother's Arms,
And clinging to her Neck; thee, thee, *Orestes*,
The Prince of *Argos*, and in Hopes her King.

The End of the First Act.



A C T

ACT II.

IPHIGENIA, CHORUS.

Cho. FROM the Sea Shore, ho! hitherward in haste
FA Shepherd comes, with some strange Tidings
 fraught.

Enter Shepherd.

Sh. Daughter of *Clytemnestra* and *Atrides*,
 Lift with Attention to my wond'rous Tale!

Iph. What fearfull Narrative hast thou to utter?

Sh. O Princess, to this Coast are just arriv'd,
 Fled from their Country doubtless, two fair Youths;
 An acceptable Off'ring to our Goddess,
 The great *Diana*! therefore haste, prepare
 The Lavers, and th' initiating Rites,
 To cleanse and sanctify them for the Altar.

Iph. Whence are they? Of what Nation are they styl'd?

Sh. *Gracians* they are; but farther know I not.

Iph. Canst thou report what Names these Strangers bore?

Sh. The one, I think, call'd th' other *Pylades*.

Iph. And his Companion, know ye not his Name?

Sh. That none of us can tell; we heard not that.

Iph.

Iph. How chanc'd ye to descry? where seiz'd ye them?

Sh. We found them on the *Fæxine's* craggy Shore.

Iph. What Errand call'd you Shepherds to the Shore?

Sh. We went to wash our Cattle in the Sea.

Iph. Then to my former Question I return,

How? in what Manner did you take them? say:

I long to be inform'd.—They come full late,

These ling'ring Strangers: Not this many a Day

Hath *Cynthia's* Altar blush'd with *Græcian* Gore.

Sh. When by that narrow Strait our Flocks were pass'd,

Where jutting Rocks confine the struggling Floods,

We came to certain Caverns, hollow made

By the perpetual Dashing of the Waves,

Where they, who gather Scarlet, went to house:

There one of our Companions chanc'd to spy

These two fair Youths, and starting soft return'd,

On Tip-toe lightly steering back his Course;

And look (he cried) see there! what Gods are those,

That sit in yonder Rock? Another straight,

The pious one amongst us, rais'd his Hands,

And thus in Pray'r ador'd them: Mighty Lord!

Son of *Leucothea*, Goddess of the Main,

Who savest the frail Bark from Rocks and Shelves,

Divine *Palæmon*, be propitious to us!

Or hear ye rather, *Jove* and *Leda's* Twins!

Or

152 I PHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

Or of the Race of *Nereus*, the great Sire
 Of fifty Daughters, who the Choir compose
 Of chanting *Nereids*! At this solemn Pray'r
 Another of our Band, presumptuous, vain,
 And lawless, into sudden Laughter brake,
 And said, they were two Ship-wreck'd Mariners,
 Who, conscious of the Law that here consigns
 The Stranger to the Altar, in that Rock
 Had fought to hide for Fear. And he indeed
 To most appearing to conjecture right,
 We instantly decreed to hunt them down,
 As Victims due by Custom to our Goddess.
 When one of them, straight rushing from the Cave,
 Stood, and with frantick Action to and fro
 Toss'd his loose Head, and groan'd, and shook, and quak'd
 Ev'n to his utmost Nerve, as one distraught
 With Madness; roaring then with Voice as loud
 As Hunters in the Chace, See, *Pylades*,
 See her (he cried) there: dost thou see her there?
 That Viper, that foul Fiend of Hell: See now,
 Arm'd with a thousand Snakes, and grinning fierce,
 How she wou'd murder me: Another too,
 Rob'd all in Flames of Fire, and breathing Death,
 Comes sailing on the Wing; and in her Arms
 She bears my Mother, who in Vengeance threats

To

To over-whelm me with these flinty Rocks!
 And now she slays me. Whither shall I fly?
 Then wou'd he change his Gestures and his Voice,
 And mimic the dire Notes of howling Dogs,
 And Bulls fierce-roaring Sounds; which, as they say,
 The Furies selves are wont to imitate.
 Mean while, thrunk up and almost dead with Fear,
 Silent we sat; when spying suddenly
 Our Drove of Cattle, his sharp Sword he drew,
 And like a Lion leap'd amidst the Herd
 And stabb'd and wounded some on ev'ry Side,
 Misdeming that he with the Furies fought:
 So that the frothy Wave was ting'd with Blood.
 But, when amongst our Cattle we beheld
 This murderous Havock made, to Arms we ran,
 And blew our Horns, and rais'd the Country round;
 Well weening that poor silly Shepherd Swains
 Were not a Match for those brave warlike Youths.
 A mighty Number soon was gather'd to us:
 And now the Stranger all at once fell calm,
 And ceas'd his frantick Motions; from his Chin
 Distill'd the milky foam: This fair Occasion
 We saw, we seiz'd, and emulously shew'r'd
 A flinty Volley on the distant Foe.
 While th' other Youth from his Companion's Lip

U Wip'd

154 IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

Wip'd off the Foam, and marking, as they flew,
Each rocky Fragment, with his shelt'ring Robe
Protected him from Wrong; with friendly Care
Performing all the Offices of Love.

But he, up-starting from his deadly Trance,
And all his Sense recovering, when he saw
The Storm that thicken'd round him, and perceiv'd
Destruction was approaching, deeply sigh'd;
While we still urging them on ev'ry Side
Without Remission ply'd our missive War.

Then did we hear this dreadful Exhortation:

Oh! *Pylades*, we die! but let us die

Most glorious; draw thy Sword, and follow me.
But when we saw them shake their flashing Blades
Quick to the Woods and Cliffs in Crouds we fled;

Yet fled not all, for happily some remain'd,

Who still maintain'd the Fight, but soon repuls'd

They likewise fled, and left the Foe in quiet.

Indeed it seems almost to pass Belief,

That of such Myriads none should be so bold,

Or so successful, as to seize these Victims.

Nor was it by our Valour, that at length

We did prevail; for having girt them round

With a vast Circle, and with flinty Show'rs

On ev'ry Part assailing, from their Hands

4

Their

Their shining Blades we beat: while on the Ground
Themselves, with Labour over-toil'd, they cast.
So seizing, to the King we led them bound;
Who having view'd them well, now sends them here,
By thee to be prepar'd for Sacrifice.

And ever shou'd'st thou pray, O royal Maid!
For Victims such as these; then soon wou'd Greece,
(If many more such Victims she afford)
Repent her Cruelty to thee, and pay
Full dearly for thy Sacrifice at *Aulis*.

Cho. Thou tellest Wonders of this Stranger Greek,
Whoe'er he be, that from his native Land
Is come to this unhospitable Shore.

Iph. 'Tis well; go thou and bring the Strangers hither;
What here is to be done, shall be my Care.

Exit Shep.

Oh! wretched Heart, thou wert accusom'd once
To Strangers to be mild and pitifull,
And for thy Country's Sake bestow a Tear,
When a poor luckless Greek was brought unto thee.
But ever since the Dream, by which I know
That dear *Orestes* views this Light no more,
I am grown fierce and savage, and henceforth
Such will ye find me, miserable Strangers!
For I myself, O Friends, am miserable.

“ And true it is, the unsuccessfull Man

“ Ever maligns and hates the fortunate.”

Oh! that no Heav’n-sent Gale, no wandering Bark,
Which thro’ these dread *Cyanean* Rocks hath pass’d,
E’er hath brought *Helen* here, or *Menelas*,
For whom I was undone, that here I might
Repay them all their Cruelties and Wrongs,
And make them find another *Aulis* here,
In Recompence for that, where once the *Greeks*
Their murd’rous Hands laid on me, and in Pomp,
Like a young Heifer, led me to the Altar,
Where my unnat’ral Father was the Priest!
Alas! I cannot but remember this:

How often to my Father’s Beard reach’d I
My supplicating Hand! how oft embrac’d
His Knee, and tried to sooth him with these Words:

“ My Father! Shamefull Nuptials hast thou here

“ Prepar’d for thy sad Daughter; while my Mother,

“ Gay *Clytemnestra*, and the jocund Choir

“ Of *Argive* Virgins, understanding not

“ Thy murd’rous Purpose, *Hymeneals* sing,

“ And merry Musick thro’ thy Palace sounds:

“ Mean while I perish, perish by thy Hands!

“ And *Pluto*, not the lovely Son of *Peleus*,

“ *Pluto*’s th’ *Achilles*, and the Spouse you meant,

“ When in the glitt’ring Carr, by Fraud seduc’d,

“ You

“ You fetch’d me hither to these bloody Nuptials.

’Twas on that Day, when spying thro’ my Veil
This Brother, whose sad Fate I now lament,
I took him in my Arms, but did not press,
Thro’ Virgin Modesty, his Lips to mine,
Then going, as I thought, to *Peleus*’ House;
And many kind Caresses I defer’d,

As one, who back to *Argos* shou’d return.—

Oh! Wretch *Orestes*, if thou’rt dead indeed,
These Evils, and thy Father’s Crimes have kill’d thee.—

“ Mean time I cannot but condemn the false

“ And partial Reas’ning of our Goddess here:

“ Who from her Altars chafes as unclean,

“ Those who with Murder have themselves desl’d,

“ Or touch’d a lifeless Carcase, yet herself

“ Delights in Blood and human Sacrifice.

“ It cannot be, that such Abfurdity

“ Shou’d from *Saturnius* and *Latona* spring.

“ Nor can I Credit yield to those vain Legends,

^s I cannot but think the Mention of the first *Olym.* Ode of *Pindar*, that one may Story of *Tantalus* very impertinent in this Place, as it breaks the Thread of the Argument used by *Iphigenia*; which, leaving out this, and the two following Lines, would seem clearer and better connected. But this I could not do, without taking such a Liberty, as I think a Translator cannot justify. This Passage is so like one in the

“ That

158 IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

“ That tell, how at the Board of *Tantalus*
“ The glutton Gods once feasted on his Son.”

Much rather ought it sure to be presum'd,
That these wild Nations, pleas'd with human Blood,
Wou'd their own Vices on their Goddesses charge;
For to the Gods no Evil can belong.

S T R O P H E I.

Cho. Ye rushing Floods, thro' which the Wife of *Jove*
Her madding * Rival forc'd of yore,
When thro' the World from *Argos* doom'd to rove,
She pass'd to *Asia* from *Europa's* Shore,

Know ye whence these Strangers are?
Came they from that Region fair,
Where *Eurotas*, crown'd with Reeds,
Wantons thro' the flow'ry Meads?
Or from *Dire's* sacred Shore?
Thither to return no more!

To an unfocial Nation are they come,
Where Superstition taints the hallow'd Dome;
And bids the Priestesses to her Goddesses pour
Unblest Libations, Floods of human Gore.

* *Ic.*

ANTI-

ANTISTROPHE I.

Relying on the Winds uncertain Gale,
 Or tugging the tough Oar with Pain,
 Thus o'er the trackless Ocean do they fail,
 Wealth by precarious Traffick to obtain?
 Hope, thou Bane of human Kind!
 Sweet Illusion of the Mind!
 How in search of distant Joy
 Man's vain Race dost thou employ!
 Who thro' various Perils run,
 By their Gain to be undone!
 How empty are th' Opinions of Mankind!
 Sway'd by no Reason, to no Point confin'd!
 With cold Indifference some those Objects view,
 Which others with insatiate Thirst pursue.

STROPHE II.

How did they stem th' impetuous Tide,
 Where * *clashing* Rocks the flying Sail surprize?
 How on the foaming Back of *Neptune* glide!
 Safe by the sleepless Shores where *Phineus* lies?

* The *Symplegades*.
 6 *Phineus*, the Uncle and Lover of *Andromeda*, after he [*Persæus*] had delivered *Andromeda*, was changed into a Rock by *Perrheus*, her from the Sea-monster. *Brumoy*. There
 Where.

Where the *Nereid's* Virgin Choir
 Fifty Sisters of the Main,
 To their old immortal Sire
 Chaunt by turns their Choral Strain;
 Sweetly founding in the Breeze,
 While before the swelling Gales,
 O'er the Foam-befilver'd Seas,
 Swift the well-steer'd Vessel sails,
 Whether by the stormy Wing
 That collects the southern Clouds,
 Or by western Airs, that sing
 Gently thro' the whistling Shrouds,
 Thro' the *Euxine* borne along,
 Or by *Leuca* coasting, where
 Ever dwell the Cliffs among
 All the feather'd Tribes of Air.

ANTISTROPHE II.

Oh! that to *Iphigenia's* Pray'r
 Kind Fortune list'ning hither wou'd convey
Ledaan Helen, that pernicious Fair,
 With her own Blood our Princess to repay!

Shores, says *Barnes*, are styled *Neeple's*, on breaking perpetually upon the Rocks.
 account of the great Noise of the Sea

Oh!

Oh! might I that Trairefs view,
 Here within this facred Fane,
 Dropping all with gory Dew,
 And by *Iphigenia* flain!
 But what Tranfports fhould I find!
 Wou'd fome *Græcian* Stranger come,
 Thefe hard Fetters to unbind,
 And in Freedom waft me home!
 Ye fweet Children of the Brain,
 Dear fantaftick Vifions, rife!
 And my Country once again
 Place before thefe wifhing Eyes!
 Far, alas! in Dreams alone
 Shall I view my native Shore!
 Dreams, the vifionary Boon
 Giv'n alike to Rich and Poor.

⁶ *Leuca* is a fmall Ifland lying near the Mouth of the *Borjsthenes*, called alfo *Achillea*, from *Achilles*, who in his Paflage to *Troy* is faid to have been driven upon it, and during his Stay there to have exercifed himfelf in the Foot Race: whence it was fometimes named the *Courfe of Achilles*.

The End of the Second Act.

X

A C T

A C T III.

IPHIGENIA, CHORUS.

Iph. ⁷BEHOLD in Manacles the *Grecians* boundBend hitherward their Steps, a welcome Off'ring
To our great Goddess: Peace, ye Virgins, peace.These fair First-fruits of *Greece* approach the Temple,
Nor hath the Shepherd with false Tales abus'd us.*Cho.* O venerable Goddess! if this Land

Hath in Obedience to thy heav'nly Will

These bloody Rites ordain'd, propitious now

Accept their Off'rings; Off'rings which the *Greeks*

Taught by their Laws deem horrid and profane.

*Enter ORESTES and PYLADES bound, attended by Priests,**Guards, &c.**Iph.* 'Tis well. But it behoves me first to see

Perform'd in Order due, whate'er concerns

The Worship of the Goddess: loose their Chains,

⁷ It appears from the first Words of this latter End of the Act; an Instance of which Act that the *Chorus* at least, and perhaps we have in the fifth Act of this very Play. *Iphigenia*, did not leave the Stage at the End of the preceding Act: the same thing may be observed of *Orestes*, *Pylades*, &c. at the End of this Act, which is plainly connected with the following by the Words of *Orestes* taking Notice of *Iphigenia's* entering from the Temple. The Stage, therefore, was not in the ancient Drama, as it is in the modern, always cleared at the End of every Act; neither do the Odes sung by the *Chorus* always come in at the

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 163

For being holy, they may not be bound.

Depart ye now, and in the Sanctuary [*to the Priests, &c.*
Prepare the needfull and accustom'd Rites.

Alas! young Strangers, whence are ye deriv'd?
Whose Womb conceiv'd you? and whom call ye Father?
Whom style your Sister? if perchance ye have
A Sister; luckless Virgin! soon to lose
Such Brothers. "Who can see his future Fates,

"And say, Thus shall they be! The Ways of Heav'n
Are imperceptible. And no one knows

"What Sorrows threaten him; th' Inconstancy
"Of Fortune still perplexing all Conjectures.

Whence came ye, wretched Strangers? a long Voyage
Hath brought you to this Shore; a longer yet
Remains, and to a Shore still more remote

From your dear Country—to the Shades below.

O. Wherefore, O Virgin, whoe'er thou art,

Dost thou bewail the common Woes of Life?
And why do our Misfortunes thus afflict thee?

"Fond is the Wretch, who, knowing he must die,

"Thinks by vain Sorrow and unmanly Tears

"To quell the Fear of Death; or, void of Hope,

"Grieves at th' Approach and Certainty of Fate,

"Creating thus two Evils out of one,

"By losing with his Life his Honour too.

Let Fortune take her Course; lament us not;

We know what Sacrifice your Customs here Ordain, and know that we must be the Victims.

Ipb. Which of you Strangers is nam'd *Pylades*?

This Information I would first receive.

Oref. He—But what Pleasure gain you from this Knowledge?

Ipb. Next, to what State of *Greece* doth he belong?

Oref. Can this Intelligence import you aught?

Ipb. Are ye two Brothers of one Mother born?

Oref. Brothers we are in Friendship, not in Blood.

Ipb. On thee what Name was by thy Sire impos'd?

Oref. I thoud, if rightly nam'd, be styi'd th' Unhappy.

Ipb. I meddle not with that, charge that on Fortune.

Oref. Dying unknown we shall not be defam'd.

Ipb. Can such a Thought affect a Mind so great?

Oref. You sacrifice my Body, not my Name.

Ipb. May I not learn what Country claims thy Birth?

Oref. Thy Questions nought import a dying Man.

Ipb. Yet what with-holds your yielding me this Pleasure?

Oref. Myself I boast from noble *Argos* sprung.

Ipb. Now, by the Gods! art thou indeed from *Argos*?

Oref. Yea: of *Mycenæ*, once a potent City.

Ipb. Driv'n thence by Exile com'st here, or how?

Oref. My Flight was voluntary, yet constrain'd.

Ipb. Vouchsafe then to reply to my Demands.

Oref. I will, tho' it enhance my Misery.

Ipb.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 165

Iph. Thy Voyage hither, since thou can'st from *Argos*,
Was greatly to be wish'd. *Oref.* By thee perchance.
If so, do thou rejoice; it joys not me.

Iph. The Fame of *Troy* no doubt hath reach'd thy Ears.

Oref. Wou'd that it never had, not even in Dreams!

Iph. They say that famous City is no more.

Oref. *Troy* is no more; Fame hath not ly'd in that.

Iph. Is *Helen* to her Husband's Bed return'd?

Oref. Return'd she is, and brought Perdition with her.

Iph. Where dwells she now? She once did injure me.

Oref. She dwells at *Sparta* with her former Lord.

Iph. Thou common Bane of *Greece*, not mine alone!

Oref. I too have reap'd the Fruits of her Espousals.

Iph. Return'd the *Grecians* so as Fame reports?

Oref. How many Questions hast thou ask'd in one!

Iph. Fain wou'd I profit by thee, e're thou dy'st.

Oref. Make thy Demands then, and indulge thy Pleasure.

Iph. There was a Seer, nam'd *Calchas*, came he back?

Oref. He dy'd; as in *Mycenæ* was reported.

Iph. O mighty Goddess!—Lives *Laertes'* Son?

Oref. He is not yet return'd, but lives, they say.

Iph. O may he die, nor see his Country more!

Oref. Spare, spare your Curses! nothing prospers with him.

Iph. The Son of *Thetis*, is he yet alive?

Oref. The valiant Son of *Thetis*, who in vain

At

166 IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

At *Aulis* was espous'd, is now no more.

Ipb. Sure in those Spoufals there was Treachery;

At least, so some pretend, who suffer'd by them.

Oref. But in thy Turn, say, Virgin, who art thou,

That askest with such Knowledge about *Greece*?

Ipb. Myself am also from that Nation sprung,

But in my tender Years I was undone.

Oref. I marvel not if thou desire to learn

The State of *Greece*.

Ipb.

The Leader of the *Greeks*,

He whom Men style the Happy, what of him?

Oref. Whom say'st thou? for that Leader of the *Greeks*,

Whom I did know, was not among the happy.

Ipb. The royal Son of *Atreus*, *Agamemnon*.

Oref. Virgin! I know not,—ask me not that Question.

Ipb. But by the Gods I will, and, gentle Stranger,

Vouchsafe to answer it, and make me happy.

Oref. He fell; and others in his Fall involv'd.

Ipb. Fell! by what luckless Fate? Unhappy me!

Oref. But wherefore dost thou sigh at his Misfortunes?

Can *Agamemnon's* Woes relate to thee?

Ipb. I sigh'd reflecting on his former Grandeur.

Oref. He dy'd most wretched, murder'd by his Wife.

Ipb. Unhappy both, the Murd'ers and the Murder'd!

Oref. Then finish here, and question me no farther.

Ipb.

Iph. This only — Lives that wretched Monarch's Wife?

Oref. No — she is dead — His Son did murder her.

Iph. O noble House! how ruin'd, how confounded!

What cou'd incite the Son to such a Deed?

Oref. He flew her to revenge his Father's Death.

Iph. Oh! what a righteous Sin did he commit!

Oref. Yet righteous as he was, neither in that,

Nor in obeying whatsoe'er besides

The Gods enjoin'd, hath he prov'd fortunate.

Iph. Did *Agamemnon* leave no other Issue?

Oref. He left a Virgin Daughter, nam'd *Electra*.

Iph. And of his Daughter, that was sacrific'd

Is there no mention?

Oref. None but of her Death.

Iph. O wretched Daughter! O unhappy Sire!

Thou that cou'dst murder her.

Oref. She fell indeed,

A thankless Victim for a worthless Woman.

Iph. And dwells the murder'd Monarch's Son in *Argos*?

Oref. That woeful Son dwells ev'ry where and no where.

Iph. "Adieu, ye lying Visions! ye are nothing:

"As are those Daemons also we call wife;

"E'en like the flitting Dreams which they inspire.

"In Things divine, it seems, as well as human,

"Confusion enters and Uncertainty.

aside. }
This

This Solace yet remains, that if indeed
 He be, as these pretend, who seem to know,
 Lost and unhappy; not by his own Folly,
 But by obeying Heav'n, he was undone. } *aside.*

Cho. But we, alas! of whom shall we enquire
 The Fortunes of our Friends; if yet they live?
Iph. Strangers, attend: This Conference to my Mind

A Purpose hath suggested, which pursued
 With Care and Diligence (so all approve)
 May in th' Event prove fortunate to all,
 And above all most fortunate to me.
 Wilt thou, so I preserve thee from the Altar, [to *Orestes*.
 Repair to *Argos*, my Ambassador,
 And to my yet surviving Friends from me
 Convey a Letter, which a Captive once
 Pen'd in my Name, condoling my Misfortunes,
 And not imputing his sad Death to me,
 But to the Laws and Customs of the Land,
 And the dread Sanction of the Deity.
 Till now I ne'er could find a Messenger
 That could escape from this inhuman Shore,
 And bear my Letter to my Friends in *Argos*.
 Thou therefore (for thou seem'st to entertain
 No Enmity to me, and well to know
Argos, and those dear Objects of my Love)

Receive

Receive thy Life; no trifling Recompence
For the flight Task I wou'd impose upon thee.
But thou (for so these rigid Laws require) [*to Pylades*.
Must fall the Victim here, without thy Friend.

Oref. O Virgin, all that thou hast said, is just,
One thing excepted, that my Friend must die.
I cannot bear the Burden of his Death;
For I have steer'd him into these Misfortunes,
The Pilot I, and he the Passenger,
The kind Companion of my Grief and Toil.
Then were it most unjust, that by his Death
Thy Favour I should purchase, and alone
Escape these Evils; therefore be it thus:
Thy Letter give to him, his faithfull Hand
Shall bear it safe to *Argos*; so shall Heav'n
Crown all thy Wishes with Success. — For me,
Let who so mindeth, slay me — “ In the Laws
“ Of Friendship 'tis most infamous and base
“ To leave thy Friend to struggle with the Woes,
“ In which thou hast involv'd him, and provide
“ For thy own Safety only. ” This Man here,
This Stranger, is my Friend, whose precious Life
I rate at no less Value than my own.

Ipb. O noble Youth! how gen'rous was the Root,

Y

From

From whence such Virtue sprung! Thou best of
Friends!

Pray Heav'n! that he, who now of all my Race
Alone survives, my Brother, prove like him!
For, gentle Strangers, I too have a Brother;
Tho' now deny'd to these desiring Eyes.

Then, since thy Choice determines so, let him
Convey my Letter, thou prepare to die;
Thou seem'st with Transport to embrace thy Death.

Oref. By whom am I to bleed? what ruthless Priest
Performs these horrid and inhuman Rites?

Iph. I; 'tis my Function to appease the Goddess.
Oref. A Function neither to be lov'd nor envy'd.

Iph. But laid on me by Force, which all obey.

Oref. And doth thy Virgin Hand on Men perform
This laught'rous Office?

Iph. No, my sole Employ
Is on their Heads to pour the lust'ral Vase.

Oref. May I demand who slays the Victim?

Iph. They,
To whom that Charge belongs, are in the Temple.

Oref. When I am dead, what Tomb is to receive me?

Iph. A dismal Cavern in a yawning Rock
Deep sunk, and flaming round with sacred Fire.

Oref. How then, my Sister! shall thy pious Hands
Perform

Perform a Sister's Part to thy dead Brother?

Iph. O wretched Stranger! whose'er thou art,
Vain were a Wish like that: thy Sister far,
Far from this savage, barb'rous Land resides.
Yet since thou art of *Argos*, what I can,
What little Courtesies I can bestow,
Shall not be wanting to adorn thy Tomb,
Thy honorary Tomb; and on the Flame,
That shall consume the Body, will I pour
The Flow'r-drawn Nectar of the Mountain-Bee,
And all the due Libations of the Dead.

Now go I, from *Diana's* Shrine to fetch
My Letter, where it lies. Unhappy Youth!
Thou shalt not find Malevolence from me.
Observe the Strangers, Guards; but bind them not.
Joy, unexpected Joy shall I impart
To the dear Objects of my Love at *Argos*:
And when by my Epistle they shall learn
Her to be yet alive whom they think dead,
No anxious Doubts those Pleasures can allay.

} *aside.*

Exit IPHIGENIA.

Cho. Thee to the bloody Altar doom'd, [to *Orestes*.
Thee, Stranger, we lament and mourn.

Orest. Rather rejoice; there is no Cause for Woe.

Cho. But thee, to better Fortune born, [to *Pyl.*
Thee
Y 2

Thee we felicitate; thee, happy Youth,
Who to thy Country shalt again return.

Pyl. The Death of those we love blasts ev'ry Joy,
And saddens ev'ry Scene.

Cho. O horrid Sacrifice! inhuman Rites!

Alas! thou dy'st. [*to Oref.*] Alas! thou dy'st. [*to Pyl.*

Ah! which of you must die?

As yet I doubt, Oh! tell me which.

Tell me, to whom these Tears belong?

* To whom must I address my mournfull Song?

Exit CHORUS.

Oref. Say, are thy Thoughts, my Friend, the same with mine?

Pyl. I know not to thy Question what to answer.

Oref. Who may this Virgin be? who with a Zeal

So truly *Grecian* strictly question'd us

About the *Greeks*? the Toils they underwent

Before the Walls of *Troy*? and their Return?

Of *Calchas*, the sage Augur? of the Son

Of *Peleus*? and the wretched *Agamemnon*?

Whose Woes how much did she commiserate!

And then with Eagerness examin'd me

* I agree with Mr. Brumby that the *Chorus* in this Place goes out after *Iphigenia*, as not to be able to gather any thing from of whose Attendants it was composed, consequently there remains with *Orestes* and *Pylades* none but the Guards, who were as the *Chorus* consisting of *Grecian* Captives probably Natives of *Scythia*, and therefore might probably have done.

About his Wife and Children! Sure she is
A *Grecian* born, and certainly of *Argos*:
Else would she never fend her Letter there,
Nor with so much Sollicitude enquire,
As if united in one common Cause,
About the State of *Argos*.

Pyl. I indeed,

But you my Tale prevented, was employ'd
On the same Question, with this Diff'rence,
I with myself reflected that the Woes
Of Kings are publick, and well known to all
Who yield Attention to the Voice of Fame.
My Mind too was with other Thoughts engag'd.

Oref. What are they? by imparting them perchance
Thou may'st gain Knowledge.

Pyl. With myself I thought

That to survive thy Death were infamous
In me thy Friend; together to this Shore
We sail'd, we liv'd, and we must die together.
In *Argos* shall I not, and *Phocis* too,
With Baseness and foul Cowardice be charg'd,
And seem to many (for most Men are evil)
Shou'd I return alone, to have betray'd,
Nay more, to have destroy'd thy Life, in this
So gen'ral Desolation of thy House,

That

That I might seize thy Sceptre, having wedded
Thy Sister, the sole Heiress of thy Kingdom.
These sad Reflexions with such Horror fill
My apprehensive Heart, that nought shall shake
Th' unalterable Purpose of my Soul,
To mingle my expiring Breath with thine,
At the dire Altar to be slain with thee,
And in one common Flame consume together.
This Part becomes a Friend, and him who dreads
Reproach and Infamy.

Oref.

Peace, peace, my Friend;

Me it behoves to bear my own Misfortunes;
And not by sharing double ev'ry Woe,
Were I with Murder to requite the Toils,
Thou for my sake hast suffer'd, what thou say'st
Of Infamy and Scorn, will all redound
On my detested Name: And sure for me
Thus hated, persecuted thus by Heav'n,
It cannot be calamitous to die.
But thou, my *Pyllades*, art prosperous
Art innocent and pure: no Curse attends
Thee or thy Family; while mine, alas!
Is all desl'd with Guilt and Wretchedness.
Thou with my Sister, whom to thee I gave
In Marriage, may with Children once again

My

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 175

My Father's House replenish, and preserve
My Memory and Name. Then go and live!
Live my Paternal Sceptre to enjoy.
But when to *Argos* thou shalt safe arrive,
By this Right Hand of Fellowship and Love,
I do conjure thee, *Pylades*, to raise
An honorary Tomb, and on it place
Some monumental Trophy to thy Friend;
And let my Sister offer on my Grave
Her Grief-shorn Tresses, and a pious Tear.
Then tell her how in Sacrifice I fell,
From all Pollutions by an *Argive* Maid
In my own Blood before the Altar purg'd.
And, oh! abandon not my Orphan Sister,
Nor naked leave my Father's wretched House,
Betraying the Alliance, thou shou'd'st guard!
And now farewell! thou best and truest Friend.
Thou dear Companion of my youthfull Sports,
Twin-brother of one Nurse's tender Care!
Oh! what a Load of Sorrow and Distress
Have my Calamities impos'd upon thee!
Apollo, that great Prophet, has deceiv'd us,
And, of his former Oracles asham'd,
Contriv'd to send me to this distant Shore;
Me, who resigning up myself to him,

As

As he commanded me, did slay my Mother,
In Vengeance of whose Death I perish now.

Pyl. An honorary Tomb to thee shall rise;

Nor will I e'er abandon or betray

Thy Sister's Bed; since thou, unhappy Youth,
Wilt needs constrain me to survive my Friend,
Here doom'd to perish. So it seems decreed:

Yet still some Hope remains; nor can I yet
Distrust the Gods, whose sacred Oracles,
Tho' on the perillous Brink of Ruin plac'd,
Have never cast me down the Precipice.

Oft at the lowest Ebb of hopeless Fortune
The Tide returns, and wondrous Changes brings—

Ores. No more, I say *Apollo* hath abus'd me,
And lo! the Virgin from the Temple comes.

The End of the Third Act.



My Father's House replenish, and preserve
My Memory and Name. Then go and live!
Live my Paternal Sceptre to enjoy.
But when to *Argos* thou shalt safe arrive,
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Z

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176 IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

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Oft at the lowest Ebb of hopeless Fortune

The Tide returns, and wond'rous Changes brings—

Ores. No more, I say, *Apollo* hath abus'd me,

And lo! the Virgin from the Temple comes⁹.

The End of the Third Act.

⁹ *M. Brunoy*, in his *Reflections* upon this Scene, observes that *Pylades* seems to yield too easily to the Intreaties of his Friend,

who presses him to live and let him die : But, continues he, let any one read over this Scene with Attention, and he will discover that *Pylades* yields only in Appearance, being unwilling to exasperate *Orestes* with unseasonable Opposition, and desirous of being generous, rather than of *seeming* to be so. In fact, says he, *Pylades* only feigns to acquiesce ; and relies all the while upon some happy Incident, or rather upon his own Courage, to enable him to extricate both himself and his Friend out of this

Distress ; as is evident from the Words with which he closes his Speech.

I acknowledge, indeed, that *Pylades*, from a religious Confidence in the Gods, who had sent them upon this dangerous Enterprize, seems to expect some happy Turn of Providence in their Favour ; but I cannot think that *Pylades* either yields too easily, or yields only in Appearance to the Intreaties of his Friend. A short View of their different Circumstances will set this Matter in a clear Light.

Orestes was tormented even to Distraction with the Horrors of his Conscience, or in the Language of the Ancients, particularly

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 177

cularly the Poets, was haunted by the Furies for having slain his Mother *Clytemnestra*. In order to find a Remedy for this Evil, he applied himself to the Oracle of *Apollo*, who commanded him to repair to *Taurick Scythia*, to bring from thence the Image of *Diana*, and set it up in the City of *Athens*: having effected this, he was told by the same Oracle that he should be healed of his Distraction. In Obedience to the Command of the Oracle, and in full Hopes of being restored to his former Peace of Mind, he is here represented as coming to *Scythia*, attended by *Pylades*, who out of Friendship accompanied him in this hazardous Expedition. Their first Business after their Arrival is to take a View of the Temple of *Diana*, and the Avenues leading to it; which finding to be very difficult of Access they agree to defer the Execution till Night, and in the mean Time conceal themselves in the Rocks. But before the Time fixed for their Attempt was come, they were accidentally discovered by some Shepherds, seized, and carried to the King, who sent them immediately to the Temple, in order to their being offered up in Sacrifice to *Diana*, according to the barbarous Custom of that Country. Upon this they are delivered to *Iphigenia* the Priestess of that Goddess; who understanding from their Answers to the Questions she put to them about their Country, that they came from the Kingdom of *Argos*, takes a sudden Resolution of saving one of them, upon condition that he will carry a Letter for her to some Friends of hers residing in *Argos*. *Orestes*, to whom she first applies, refuses the Offer for himself, but desires his Friend may be spared; and undertakes for him that he will perform the Condition, upon which she was willing to grant one of them his Life. *Iphigenia* accepts the Change, to whom it was entirely indifferent, as she knew nothing of either, and goes out to fetch her Letter. From this Account, it appears,

that the sole Purpose, for which *Orestes* had undertaken this Voyage to *Scythia*, was defeated; namely, that of carrying off the Image of *Diana*; and consequently that he had no Hopes left of recovering his former Health and Tranquillity; it is no wonder therefore that he should refuse a Life so full of Misery, and which moreover must be purchased by the Sacrifice of his Friend: Neither is it wonderful that *Pylades* should acquiesce in the Determination of *Orestes*: Life attended with an incurable Distraction was surely not to be forced upon his Friend. Accordingly he does not offer to die *for* him, but only insists upon dying *with* him; and that for Reasons grounded partly upon his Friendship for *Orestes*, whom he could not bear the Thoughts of surviving, partly upon the apprehension of the Suspicions that would fall upon him, should he return to *Argos* without *Orestes*, whose Sister *Electra*, the sole Heiress of that Kingdom, he had married. *Orestes* combats these Reasons of *Pylades* with some very powerful Arguments tending to shew that he [*Orestes*] alone ought to die, because he alone was polluted with Guilt and Misery, consequently Death in his Situation was far from being a Misfortune; that he should with great Justice be censured and reproached by all Men should he requite with Death the Fidelity of a Friend, who out of pure Affection had accompanied him thro' all his Toils and Dangers; and farther, that the Death of *Pylades*, instead of alleviating his Sorrows, would only increase and double them. To these Arguments, taken from Considerations relating to himself, he adds others regarding the Situation of *Pylades*, and his Sister *Electra*, the Wife of *Pylades*. As, first, that *Pylades* and his Family were innocent and prosperous, and not, like him and his, under the Curse of Heaven. Secondly, that he and *Electra* might raise up Children to the Family of *Atreides*, restore its ancient Lustre, and preserve his Name and Memo-

ry. To these Reasons, it would, in my Opinion, have been weak and unmanly in *Pylades* not to yield, since with regard to himself he could have no other Motive for persisting in his Resolution of dying with *Orestes*, than the Pain of surviving him; and with regard to *Orestes*, and the Interest and Happiness of *Electra*, whom he had married, it was indisputably better that he should live and return to *Argos*. Can *Pylades* then be thought to yield too easily, when the Reasons for his yielding are apparently stronger than those for his persisting in the Resolution of dying with *Orestes*; a Resolution naturally suggested by his Passion for his Friend, and to be excused only upon that Account: As to the Reason taken from his Apprehension of the Suspicions, that might fall upon him in case he return'd to *Argos* without *Orestes*; it does not appear to be of Weight sufficient to counterbalance those urged by *Orestes*, his Friendship for whom was doubtless too well known to all *Greeks*, and too strongly evidenced by his attending him in this dangerous Expedition to *Scythia*, to leave any room for such an Imputation upon him; from which, besides, he could not fail of Opportunities of clearing his Character either by the means of those who accompanied them in this Voyage, or by the Letter and other Testimonials from the *Argive* Virgin, who doubtless would assist him in escaping from *Scythia*. For imagining with *M. Brunoy*, that he yields only in Appearance, there is not the least Foundation; nay the contrary seems evident from the following Scene, in which he engages himself by a solemn Oath to carry *Iphigenia's* Letter to *Argos*, which he was too scrupulous to have done, had he resolved to perish either *for* or *with* *Orestes*.

As to his relying upon his own Courage to extricate himself and his Friend out of the Difficulties, in which they were involved,

he must have been more lunatick than *Orestes* to have thought of it. They were in an Enemy's Country, at a Distance from their Vessel, disarmed and surrounded with Guards, &c. In such a Situation their Courage could be of no other Service to them, than to enable them to bear their Misfortunes with a manly and heroick Constancy. His sole Dependence was upon Heaven, and the Event shews it was not ill grounded.

I have dwelt the longer and more particularly upon the Examination of this famous Scene, because the View of *Euripides* seems to have been mistaken, not only by *Mont. Brunoy* the *French* Translator, but by *Ovid* himself, if we suppose, with him and others, that the following Lines allude to this Passage:

*Ite iubet Pylades charum moriturus Orestem;
Hic negat, inque vicem pugnat uterque mori,
Exiit hoc unum quod non concenerit illis:
Cætera pars concors et sine lite fuit.*

De Ponto, L. ii. E. 2.

In these Lines the two Friends are represented as contending with each other which of them should die; but there is no such Contest in *Euripides*. *Orestes* indeed offers to die instead of *Pylades*, who, on his Part, insists only upon dying *with* his Friend: And their different Behaviour hath been shewn to be agreeable to good Sense, the true Source of Dramatick Poetry. The Contest hinted at by *Ovid* is certainly more striking and *Theatrical*, and *Ovid* himself, we may suppose, would have followed that Plan had he written a Tragedy upon this Subject. But notwithstanding so great an Authority, I cannot help declaring for *Euripides*, whose Art and Judgment in the Conduct of every Scene in this Tragedy (except the first) will, I am persuaded, the more it is considered, appear the more excellent.

A C T

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 179

ACT IV.

IPHIGENIA, ORESTES, PYLADES.

*Iph.*¹⁰ DEPART ye, and returning to the Temple,
Aid in their sacred Offices the Priests,
And those who must intend the Sacrifice.

Ex. Guards.

¹⁰ *Depart ye, &c.*] *Iphigenia* addresses these Words to the Guards, to whose Custody she had committed *Orestes* and *Pylades*, while she went into the Temple to fetch her Letter. And as the *Chorus*, who followed her out in the preceding Act (See Note *) do not appear to enter till some time hence, she now remains alone with *Orestes* and *Pylades*. It was absolutely necessary that these Guards, who were probably Natives of *Scythia*, and Subjects of King *Tboas*, if not inferior Officers and Servants in the Temple of *Diana*, should not be present at what passes in this Scene between *Iphigenia* and her Brother, for Reasons which may easily be discovered. But as these Reasons could not be foreseen by *Iphigenia*, who suspected nothing less than the wonderful Discovery here made, it may be demanded, what could induce *Iphigenia* to dismiss these Guards, and leave herself alone with these two Strangers, who might from thence be encouraged to attempt an Escape? I answer, that besides the Reason suggested by *Iphigenia*, viz. that their Assistance was wanted in the Temple, she might be desirous of conferring privately with *Pylades*, who was

to be her Messenger to *Argos*, about the Manner of her flying from *Scythia*, where she was undoubtedly detained by Force, and consequently could have no Prospect of escaping from thence, but by the Assistance of a superior Force, or by Stratagem, either of which might have been frustrated, had she intimated to any of the Nation a Desire of departing thence. As this Supposition is very natural and founded upon the Purport of her Letter, it furnishes us with a good Reason for this cautious Conduct of *Iphigenia*. The other Part of the Objection, taken from the Danger of the two *Greeks* attempting an Escape, will soon vanish, if we consider that they were now in the Precincts, perhaps in the very Courts of the Temple, where it was very easy for *Iphigenia* to give the Alarm to the Guards, Priests, &c. upon the least Appearance of any such Attempt in the two Strangers. I make these Observations to confirm what was said in the preceding Note of the great Art and Judgment of *Euripides* in the Management of every Incident in this Tragedy. I shall have Occasion to make more Remarks of this Kind as I proceed.

Behold

180 I PHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

Behold the Letter to whose secret Folds
My Soul commits her various Purposes!
Yet hear me, Strangers, still one Doubt remains:
What Man beset with Peril is the same,
As when he finds himself secure and free
From Dread and Danger? Justly then I fear
Lest he, who now so forward seems to bear
My Letter to *Mycenæ*, when escap'd
Safe from this barb'rous Shore, will disregard,
And slight my Message.

Oref. Then declare thy Pleasure;
Say, what Security will ease thy Doubts?

Ipb. His Oath; let him engage his solemn Oath
To bear this Letter to my Friends in *Argos*.

Oref. And wilt thou also pawn thy Faith to him?

Ipb. Say to what Purpose? What must I perform?

¹¹ *Orefes's* insisting upon *Iphigenia's* swearing to suffer *Pylades* to depart, may possibly appear to the *English* Reader to be a very impertinent Piece of Caution, since, as *Iphigenia* replies, how should he otherwise convey her Letter. But it must be considered that the ancient *Greeks* were so very scrupulous as scarce to think themselves absolved from the Guilt of Perjury, tho' under an Impossibility of performing their Oath. This is evident from almost every Word that passes between *Iphigenia* and *Pylades*, relating to their reciprocal Engagements. *Iphigenia* therefore having

sworn not only to save the Life of *Pylades*, but to assist him in his Escape from *Scythia*, *Orefes* had Reason to be satisfied that the Life of his Friend and his Return to *Argos* were as secure, as all the Power and Interest of *Diana's* Priests could make them; and he was in the right to insist upon this Security before he suffered his Friend to engage himself by so solemn an Obligation as his Oath. I shall have Occasion presently to make some farther Remarks upon the Consequences of the Oath taken by *Iphigenia*.

Oref.

Oref. To suffer him depart in Safety hence.

Iph. How should he otherwise convey my Letter?

Oref. But will your King, think'st thou, consent to this?

Iph. For his Consent I will engage; and more,

Aboard some Vessel I myself will place him.

Oref. Swear then, and thou, my *Pylades*, begin

The sacred Rite, for thou art pure and holy.

Pyl. I will convey thy Letter.

Iph.

You must swear

To bear *this* Letter to my *Argive* Friends.

Pyl. I will convey *this* Letter to *thy* Friends.

Iph. And I will save thy Life and send thee hence.

Oref. What God call'st thou as Witnesses to thy Oath?

Iph. *Diana*, at whose Altar here I serve.

Pyl. *Jove*, I invoke, the awfull King of Heav'n.

Iph. What if, regardless of thine Oath, thou swear

But to abuse me?

Pyl.

To my native Land

Then may I ne'er return! And what if thou

Neglect, as thou hast sworn, to save my Life?

Iph. Oh! may I never live to visit *Argos*.

Pyl. But hold, one Circumstance has pass'd unnoted.

Iph. Thou may'st propose it, if it be material.

Pyl. This one Exemption I wou'd crave; suppose

The Vessel shou'd be lost, and in the Wave

Thy

Thy Letter in the gen'ral Wreck thou'd perish,
And I alone 'scape naked to the Shore;

Thou in that Case must quit me of my Oath.

Iph. This will I do. To various Casualties

Since all Things here are subject, the Contents
To thee will I rehearse, that so thy Tongue
May to my Friends th'important Tale report,
And I whate'er befalls have less to fear.

For if thou can'st preserve my Letter, that
Will of itself my Purposes relate;
If not, yet thou escaping, may'st preserve
My Message.

Pyl.

Wisely, Virgin, hast thou judg'd

Betwixt the Gods and me. Now then declare,
When I at *Argos* shall arrive, to whom
Thy Letter, or thy Message must I bear?

Iph. Say to *Orestes*, Son of *Agamemnon*,

“She, who in *Aulis* at the Altar bled,

“His Sister *Iphigenia*, sends him this,

“Yet living, tho' in fact still dead to him.”

Ores. Where is she? Lives she from the Grave return'd?

Iph. I whom thou seest, am that same *Iphigenia*—

But interrupt me not with thy Discourse.

“O dearest Brother, yet before I die,

“Yet bring me back to *Argos* from this Land,

“This

“ This barb’rous Land, and, oh! deliver me

“ From this detested Ministry, with which

“ Invested at *Diana’s* Shrine I serve,

“ And stain her Altars with the Blood of Strangers.

Oref. What, *Pylades*, what must I say? Where are we?

Iph. “ This do, or on thy House, on thee, and thine,

“ *Orestes*, will I call the Curse of Heav’n.”

Twice have I nam’d him, that thou may’st remember.

Pyl. Oh! ye just Gods.

Iph. Why call’st thou on the Gods?

Pyl. Nothing: Proceed: my Mind was elsewhere.

Perchance my Questions in their Turn, O Virgin,
May with no less Amazement strike thy Soul.

Iph. Tell him, “ that great *Diana* fav’d my Life,

“ Conveying in my stead a sacred Hind,

“ Which then my Father slew, the while he thought

“ That in his Daughter’s Breast he plung’d his Sword.

“ *Diana* fav’d me, and hath brought me hither.”

There is my Letter; these are the Contents.

Pyl. To what an easy Task stand I engag’d!

And O! how fortunately hast thou sworn,

Imperial Virgin! No great Space of Time

The full Performance of my Oath demands:

Behold I bear thy Letter, and to thee

Deliver it, *Orestes*, from thy Sister!

A a

Oref.

Oref. And I receive it—but away, vain Paper—

I shall not waste on Words my first fond Transports—

O dearest Sister!—Thou art much amaz'd—

Nay—I myself can scarce receive Conviction—

'Tho' I enfold thee thus—I can't contain

My Raptures, when I hear such Wonders told!

Enter CHORUS.

*Cho.*¹² Thou art to blame, young Stranger, to pollute

The Priestess of the Goddess; seizing thus

With Hands profane her consecrated Robe.

Oref. O Sister, of the self same Father sprung,

Daughter of *Agamemnon*, turn not from me:

Oh! turn not from thy Brother, thy *Orestes*,

Whom, against all thy Hopes, thou now hast found.

Ipb. Have I now found my Brother? say'st thou so?

Oh no—*my* Brother still resides in *Argos*.

¹² I agree with *Mont. Brumoy* in placing the Entrance of the *Chorus* here, where *Orestes* throwing his Arms about *Iphigenia*, is discovered and reprimanded by the *Chorus* as they come upon the Stage; for had they been present when *Pylades* delivered *Iphigenia's* Letter to him, under the Person and Name of *Orestes*, it was natural for them to have taken some Notice of that wonderful Circumstance, by suggesting that they did not believe him to be really *Orestes* the Brother of *Iphigenia*, but that

Oref.

Oref. Thy Brother is not there, unhappy Maid!

Iph. Art thou the Son of *Tyndarus's* Daughter?

Oref. Yea, and the Grandson of the Son of *Pelops*.

Iph. Ha! say'st thou; hast thou Evidence of this?

Oref. I have; examine, prove me, question me

About my Father's Family.

Iph. Speak on——

"Tis thine to bring the Proofs, and mine to hear.

Oref. Then, *Iphigenia*, first reflect on this:

Thou know'st the fatal Contest that arose

"Twixt *Atreus* and *Thyestes*?

Iph. I have heard;

About the Golden Ram, I think, they quarrell'd.

Oref. In rich Embroid'ry didst thou not describe

This Story?

Iph. Now thou comest near my Soul.

Oref. And how the flying Sun withdrew his Beams?

Iph. That Figure in my Work I well remember.

Oref. Did not in *Aulis Clytemnestra* bathe

And deck thee for thy Spoufals?

Iph. Oh! 'tis true;

And those accurs'd Espoufals were my Ruin.

Oref. Why to thy Mother didst thou fend thy Hair?

Iph. That she might strew it on my empty Tomb,

In Memory of me.

Oref.

One Token more,

Of what myself have seen, will I produce.

¹³ In thy Apartment stands the antient Spear
Of *Pelops*, which he brandish'd in his Hand
Then, when he slew *Oenomaüs*, and gain'd
Th' *Elæan* Virgin, fair *Hippodemëia*.

Iph. O dearest Brother! — for thou art my Brother —And I possess thee once again, *Orestes*!

Thee in a distant Region born,

Thee from thy native Country come,

From *Argos* hither come, dear, dear *Orestes*!*Oref.* And I again possess thee, *Iphigenia*!

Thee from the Grave return'd, for dead thou wert!

And see the precious Tears of Joy,

The Tears of Tenderness and Love,

Swell in thine Eyes, my Sister, swell in mine!

Iph. An Infant in thy Nurse's Arms,

An Infant sucking at the Breast

I left him, when I left my Father's House!

¹³ As the *English* Reader may possibly not perceive at first Sight all the Force of this first Piece of Evidence produced by *Orestes*, upon which *Iphigenia* immediately acknowledges him for her Brother, it may be proper to inform him, that the *Grecian* Women, especially Virgins, were kept with great Strictness and Reserve in separate and retired Apartments, into

which no Man, except their nearest Relations, such as Fathers or Brothers, were permitted to enter. *Orestes* therefore, by giving this Proof of his having been in *Iphigenia's* Apartment, proves himself to be her Brother, in so convincing a Manner that she yields immediately, embraces him, and weeps for Joy.

O! above all Expression fortunate!
My Soul, what shall I say?
Beyond all Wonders, all Imagination
Have these Things come to pass!

Oref. Henceforward may we live both blest'd together!

Iph. O Virgins! strange, almost incredible
Is the Delight, I have this Day received—

I fear I shall again as strangely lose him,
And that he'll make him Wings, and fly to Heav'n!
O *Argos*! O *Mycenæ*! Native Land!

Now do I thank thee for my Birth and Nurture,
Since thou hast likewise nurs'd this Brother up,
To give new Lustre to our fading Race!

Oref. In Birth we both indeed are great and happy,
But in our Lives, alas! unfortunate.

Iph. This Truth did I discover, wretched Maid!
Then, when my ruthless Father at my Throat
His murdering Faulchion held.

Oref. Methinks, even now
I see thee at the dreadful Altar stand.

Iph. Then, when defrauded of my promis'd Nuptials
With the great Son of *Peleus*, I was brought
To that deceitfull Camp, the Haunt of Wolves:
When round that dreadful Altar from each Eye
Stream'd Tears of Pity, and loud Groans were heard.

Oref.

Oref. Who wou'd not weep at such a Sacrifice?

Ipb. Even I cou'd not but pity the Distress,
And Resolution of my cruel Father.—

Alas! how woeful was my Lot, to have
So hard and so unnatural a Father.

Oref. One Evil ever ushers in another:

If thou by Fate or Chance had slain thy Brother,
Oh! Wretch, how horrid were a Deed like that!

Ipb. Oh horrible! most horrible!

And yet—how near was it, *Orestes*?

How hardly hast thou 'scap'd an impious Death,
Slain by thy Sister's Hand?

And oh! I tremble still to think,
How all these Things will end;

How Fortune will assist me to contrive
Some Means of his Escape from Death,
From this inhuman Shore!

That to his native *Argos* safe

I may convey him back, before
His precious Blood distain the sacred Knife.

Consider then, unhappy dear *Orestes*,

If best thou may'st resolve to quit thy Bark,
And, on thy Speed relying, over Land,
Thro' dreary Forests, and untravell'd Wilds,
And barb'rous Nations to expose thy Life:

Or

Or whether passing the *Cyanean* Straits,
Thro' the long watry Way thou wilt attempt
With flying Sails to compass thy Escape?
Me miserable! luckless that I am! —

O that some God, some Mortal, some blest'd Chance,
Some unexpected Incident wou'd rise
To open us a Passage thro' these Ills,
That have besieg'd us round, and shew
The two, the only two of *Atræus*' Race,
Some final Period of their Misery.

Cho. When to each other's Arms long absent Friends
Are by surprizing strange Events restor'd,
Our own Experience, and consenting Custom,
Bids us permit them to indulge the Joy
Of warm Embraces and transporting Tears.
But now, *Orestes*, it imports us most
To check this unavailing Tendernefs,
And think how we may win the glorious Name
Of Liberty, and fly this barb'rous Land.
“ For 'tis the Part of wife and prudent Men
“ Not to neglect their Fortune, but to use
“ The present Good, as an Occasion offer'd
“ Of gaining farther Happinefs.”

Oref.

’Tis true;

And Fortune will (I trust) in this Attempt

Co-ope-

Co-operate with us: her heav'nly Pow'r
By far transcends the Agency of Man.

Ipb. Yet for the present nought shall interrupt
(Since nought forbids) our Converse, till I learn
What Fate attends *Electra*: O tell me all,

For all thy Words sound gratefull to my Ear.

Oref. My Friend hath blest'd her Life with wedded Love.

Ipb. Say whence, and from whose Loins he drew his Being.

Oref. Of *Phocis* is his Father, and nam'd *Strophius*.

Ipb. My Kinsman! Son of *Agamemnon's* Sister!

Oref. Thy Kinsman, and my faithfull only Friend.

Ipb. He was not born, when I at *Aulis* bled.

Oref. The Bed of *Strophius* for a time was barren.

Ipb. Welcome, my Kinsman! Husband of my Sister!

Oref. And more than Kinsman, Saviour of thy Brother.

Ipb. How cou'd'st thou perpetrate that horrid Deed,
The Murder of thy Mother?

Oref.

Name it not!

I did it to revenge my Father's Death.

Ipb. What Cause incited her to slay her Husband?

Oref. With what concerns thy Mother meddle not;
It is not good for thee to know.

Ipb.

I'm silent.

The State of *Argos* now looks up to thee.

Oref. No; *Menelas* is King, and we are Exiles.

Ipb. What? did our Uncle then Advantage take
Of our Distractions, to distress us more?

Oref. No; the fell Furies drove me from my Country.

Ipb. This Madnefs seiz'd you now upon our Coast,
From whence some Shepherds brought me the Ac-
Of your Demeanour. [count

Oref. Nor are they the first,

Or only Witneffes of my Afflictions.

Ipb. I understand you—for your Mother's Death
The Deities of Vengeance thus torment you.

Oref. Yea, and controuling with an Iron Curb
My stubborn Spirit, ride me thro' the World.

Ipb. What Object steer'd you to this barb'rous Coast?

Oref. The Oracles of *Phœbus* sent me hither.

Ipb. And on what Errand? May that be reveal'd?

Oref. I'll tell thee, and from thence begin a Tale
Of many Labours and much Misery.

After those Crimes, which I forbear to mention,
Were in my Mother punish'd by my Hands,
Still haunted by the Furies up and down,
I roam'd an Exile and a Vagabond;

'Till *Pythian Phœbus* order'd me at length
To *Albens* to repair, and there defend

¹⁴My Cause against the nameless Goddesses

¹⁴ This Narration of *Orefes* may be Original of many Customs, civil and religious, observed by the *Albenians* even in
B b In

In that impartial Court, which righteous *Jove*
Erected for the Trial once of *Mars*,

There brought to answer for the Guilt of Murder.
When thither I arriv'd, at first I found

All Doors againſt me barr'd, as one accurs'd,
And odious to the Gods; and thoſe at laſt
Who yielded out of Shame to take me in,

And grant me the Reception due to Strangers,
Tho' under the ſame Roof they ſtill remain'd,
Yet plac'd me at a Table by myſelf,

And by the ſtudied Silence they obſerv'd,
Impoſed the like on me, that ſo I might
Hold no Communion with them, and apart
Take both my Food and Bev'rage; to this end
Was ſet by ev'ry Man, to each a Bowl,
Of the ſame Meaſure all, and fill'd alike.

Mean time, eſteeming it not meet to blame
Or murmur at my Hoſts, I griev'd in Silence,
And feigning to obſerve not what was done,
Groan'd inwardly that I had ſlain my Mother.
Yet have th' *Athenians* (for ſo Fame reports)

the Times of *Euripides*. All of which may
be found in *Potter's Grecian Antiquities*.
The Ancients ſeldom called the Furies by
their Names, which were deemed unlucky.
In ſpeaking of them therefore they ſome-
times ſtyled them the *Nameleſs*, ſometimes
the *venerable* or *awfull* Deities, &c. The

Court in which *Oreſtes* pleaded his Cauſe,
was the *Areopagus*, the higheſt Court of
Judicature in *Athens*, whoſe fabulous In-
ſtitution is here hinted at, and alluded to by
the Name, which ſignifies the *Hill of*
Mars.

From

From this sad Circumstance of my Distress
Occasion taken to appoint a Feast,
To *Pallas* sacred, where the Law ordains,
In off'ring the Libations, to employ
A Bowl in Measure like to those assign'd
To ev'ry Guest by our *Athenian* Host.
But when, repairing to the Hill of *Mars*,
Before that dread Tribunal I appear'd
To plead my Cause, against me, on a Stone
As my Accuser sat, *Tisiphone*,
The eldest of the Furies; against whom
I on another as accus'd was plac'd:
Then came the Proceß on and Charge of Murder.
But *Phæbus* in the Court on my Behalf
Appearing, witness'd for me; and the Balls
On either Side by *Pallas* being told,
And found in Number equal, I was then
Presum'd by Rule of Justice innocent,
And from the Crime of Parricide discharg'd.
Such of the Furies then, as acquiesc'd
In this Decision of the Court, and heard
The Proceß, as Appellants strait resolv'd
To hold me by this solemn Sentence clear'd.
But others, by the righteous Rule of Law
Refusing to abide, continu'd still

Their persecuting Vengeance, over *Greece*
 With restless Error driving me about;
 Till coming to *Apollo's Delphick* Grove,
 Before the Shrine I threw me on the Ground,
 And from all Food abstaining, to him swear,
 That I would there break short my Thread of Life,
 If he, the Author of my Misery,
 If *Phœbus* still refus'd to hear and save me.
 Then from the golden Tripod spake the God,
 And bade me hither come, and bearing hence
 That sacred Image, which fell down from Heav'n,
 In *Albens* to enshrine it.—Therefore, thou,
 Co-operate, and aid me to attain
 The only Means of Health, that Heav'n allows,
 Of great *Diana's* Image once possess'd,
 Soon shall I rest from these distracting Horrors,
 And in a well-man'd Pinnacle will transport
 Thee, *Iphigenia*, to thy lov'd *Mycenæ*.
 Then, dearest Sister, I conjure thee, save
 Thy Father's House, O save thy wretched Brother!

¹⁵ It may seem strange that *Orestes* in this makes no mention of his Friend. But it must be remembered that *Iphigenia* was already engaged by her Oath to save the Life of *Pylades*, who was therefore as secure, as the whole Power and Interest of *Iphigenia* could make him; and upon that account

I

For

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 195

For should we fail to gain that heav'nly Image,
Lost is thy Brother, lost the House of *Atræus*.

Cho. Some fearfull Vengeance of the Gods pursues
The Race of *Tantalus*, and works them Woe.

Iph. E're thy Arrival here, I oft have sigh'd
To visit *Argos*, and my dear *Orestes*,
And now my Wishes are the same with thine,
To free thee from thy Sorrows, and to heal
The sad Distractions of my Father's House,
No more resenting that he fought to slay me.
Thee from the Altar I perchance may save,
And save my Family: But to elude
The Goddess and the King, is what I fear.
When *Thoas* shall perceive the Marble Shrine
Robb'd of its Image, shall I not be slain?
For what can I alledge in my Excuse?
Cou'd'st thou indeed by one advent'rous Act
Together with the Statue place me too

*To what an easy Task am I oblig'd!
And O how fortunately hast thou sworn,
Imperial Virgin!*

Iphigenia was obliged by her Oath to save *Pylades*, and by the Bond of Nature to save her Brother. Her first Design of preserving one, and sacrificing the other, was now rendered abortive, and she was under a Necessity of saving both. She could not without Perjury give *Pylades* up to Slaught'ring, nor consent to the Death of *Orestes*, without incurring the Guilt of Parricide.

And yet the Laws and Religion of *Taurick Scythia* seem to require that one of them at least should be offered up in Sacrifice to *Diana*. This Oath therefore, was one, tho' not the only Cause of the present distressful Situation of *Iphigenia*; *Orestes* farther injures her to assist him in carrying off the Image of *Diana*, without which he had no Hopes of being restored to his former Health. To extricate her out of all these Difficulties is the Business of the remaining Part of this Tragedy.

Aboard

Aboard thy Vessel, it were worth the Hazard.
But this, without the other, will undo me.
And what of that? — Thy Object will be gain'd,
And thou return with Triumph to *Mycenæ*.
No Peril therefore, no, not Death itself,
Will I decline, thy Safety to procure.
Men are by all regretted when they die,
But a weak Woman is a trifling Loss.

Oref. Let me not be my Mother's Murderer,
And thine too, *Iphigenia*; on my Head
Her Blood is full sufficient: no; with thee
I am resolv'd to share one common Fate,
Be it of Life or Death; and will attempt,
Unless I perish here, to waft thee home,
Or here will I remain and die with thee.
Now hearken to my Words: Can'st thou believe,
That if this Enterprize were opposite
To great *Diana's* Will, the *Pythian* God
To *Athens* wou'd have order'd me to bear
Her sacred Image, and to see thy Face?
From all these Points conjoin'd I gather Hope,
That we shall happily compass our Return.
Iph. Be our first Care to 'scape impending Death,
Next, to obtain Possession of the Goddess,
Then think of our Return: Our Will is good.

Oref.

Oref. Can we not kill the King?

Ipb. 'Tis hazardous.

For Strangers to attempt to kill a King
In his own Kingdom.

Oref. Yet must it be risk'd,

If our own Safety hangs on the Success.

Ipb. To this I cannot yield, yet I applaud
Thy Fervency and Courage.

Oref. Then suppose

Thou shou'd'st conceal me in the Temple here?

Ipb. That thro' the Shades of Night we may escape.

Oref. The thievish Night is friendly to Deceit;
The Day belongs to Truth and Honesty.

Ipb. Within the Temple watch a waking Guard
Of Priests, whose Vigilance we cannot cheat.

Oref. Our Death, alas! is sure. O who can save us?

Ipb. A Scheme that seems to promise fairer Hopes
Now labours in my Breast.

Oref. Impart it to us.

Ipb. I mean to make Advantage of thy Madness.

Oref. A female Brain still teems with Stratagems.

Ipb. I will alledge, that having slain thy Mother
Thou art from *Argos* fled.

Oref. Of my Mischap,

So it may profit aught, avail thee freely.

Ipb.

Iph. That such a Victim will offend the Goddess.

Oref. What Reason wilt thou render? I begin
To spy thy Purpose.

Iph.

That thou art unclean;

But shalt, when pure, be yielded up to Death.

Oref. How will this aid us to obtain the Image?

Iph. I will insist that in the Ocean Stream
Thou must be purified.

Oref.

Where stands the Goddess,

Whom here we fail'd to seek? within the Temple?

Iph. That too, polluted by thy Touch impure,
Demands Ablution in the cleansing Flood.

Oref. Where wilt thou do this? at the Southern Shore?

Iph. Where thy moor'd Vessel at her Anchors rides.

Oref. Whom wilt thou trust to bear the sacred Image?

Iph. Myself: beside none may presume to touch it.

Oref. To *Pylades* what Task must be allotted?

Iph. He also must be said to be desil'd
With the same Guilt.

Oref.

But wilt thou act unseen,

Or to thy Monarch's Eye expose thy Deeds?

Iph. Doubt not but I shall win him to our Purpose;
For done it cannot be without his Knowledge.

Oref. The Bark and all the jovial Crew are ready.

Iph. To have all that in Order be thy Care.

Oref.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 199

Oref. Remains then one thing only: That these Women
Consent to keep our Secret: therefore beg,
Beseech them, and employ thy utmost Art,
And ev'ry moving Topick of Persuasion:
To move and touch the Heart thy Sex is strong:
For all the rest I doubt not of Success.

Iph. My dearest Friends, I now look up to you; [*to the Cho.*
In your Arbitrement my Fortune lies;
Henceforth, as ye determine, shall I be,
Be happy, or be nothing; be depriv'd
Forever of my Country, my dear Brother,
And this my dearest Kinsman. First for that:
But other Arguments I have to move you.
We Women still are friendly to each other,
True to the common Int'rests of our Sex.
Then be not only secret, but assisting,
And aid us in our Flight. Fidelity
And Secrecy are Virtues of great Worth.
Behold! in one and the same Fate involv'd
Three Friends, together destin'd to return
To their dear Country, or together die;
If I escape, that ye may likewise share
In the same Fortune, here do I engage
To waft you safe to *Greece*: Oh! then be secret;
Be faithfull: I conjure you by this Hand,

Cc

The

The Bond of Fellowship; by these fair Cheeks,
Which I salute in Friendship; by these Knees,
Which suppliant I embrace; by all the dear,
Dear Pledges left behind you at your Homes,
Your Parents and your Children: If there be
Among ye, who have Children, I appeal
To them, to all, to ev'ry one. Oh! speak:
What say ye? which of ye consents? which not?
Oh! tell me that; for if you disapprove,
I and my wretched Brother are undone.

Cho. ¹⁶ Fear not, dear Princess! have no other Care
But for thy Preservation. We will keep
Thy Purpose secret; so protect us, *Joze!*

Iph. I thank ye, Friends: For this may Bliss attend ye!
Thou, *Pylades*, and thou, *Orestes*, now
Retire within the Temple; for the King
Will speedily come hither to inquire,
If yet the Victims at the Altar bleed.

¹⁶ That the *Chorus* should so readily consent to keep *Iphigenia's* Secret, is not to be wondered at, considering it was composed of *Grecian* Women, who had been taken forcibly by Pyrates from their native Country, and sold for Slaves, into *Taurick Scythia*, from whence they could not have so reasonable a Prospect of escaping as that here offered them by *Iphigenia*, who promises them, if, she comes safe to *Greece*, to deliver them from Captivity, and convey

them to their native Land. The Circumstances of the *Chorus* considered, make it also appear less strange, that *Iphigenia* should explain the Particulars of her Plot in their Presence. They were interested in the Success of it. The Presence of the *Chorus* cannot, upon all Occasions, where they intervene, be so well justified: But the ancient Drama could not subsist without the *Chorus*.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 201

O mighty Goddess! who in *Aulis*' Sands
Did'st save me from my Father's slaught'rous Hands,
To these and me once more thy Aid afford,
Nor falsify thy Brother's sacred Word:
Well-pleas'd with us to *Athens* O remove!
Nor with Reluctance quit this *Scythian* Grove:
To *Athens* thou art call'd, the rich, the great,
And can'st thou with Barbarians fix thy Seat?

STROPHE I.

Cho. Sad Bird, who the Rocks still among
To the murmur'ing Surges below
Repeatest thy dolorous Song,
In Numbers explaining thy Woe,
In Accents, which sadly declare
That *Ceyx* those Dirges inspires,
Lost *Ceyx*, the Cause of thy Care,
And Object of all thy Desires!
In Elegies mournfull as thine,
Halcyone, we too complain;
In Banishment destin'd to pine,
And sigh for our Country in vain.
O *Greece* how I languish to see
Thy populous Cities once more!
How I languish, *Lucina*, for thee!
The Goddess, whom Matrons adore.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

By *Cymbius*, where stands her rich Shrine,
 By the Palm's high-embowering Shade,
 By the Laurel, and Olive divine,
 Where *Latona* reclin'd her sick Head;
 By the Lake, on whose echoing Tides
 The sweet Cygnet expiring complains,
 Our Goddess *Lucina* resides,
 Far, far from these barbarous Plains.

ANTISTROPHE I.

Alas! what a Torrent of Tears
 Continually stream'd from these Eyes,
 When fill'd with a thousand sad Fears,
 To Pyrates we first fell a Prize?
 When War and Oppression's strong Hand
 Had laid our proud Cities all waste,
 And we, a disconsolate Band,
 Aboard their black Vessels were plac'd;
 Thence savagely barter'd for Gold,
 We came to this barb'rous Land;
 And there to Captivity sold,
 Around the dire Altar we stand,
 Ordain'd on the Priests to wait,
 And assist at these horrible Rites!
 For such an unfortunate State
 Have we chang'd all our former Delights.

The

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 203

The Wretches long practis'd to mourn,
Perceive not the Weight of their Grief;
A Change in their Fortune must turn
To a better, and bring them Relief.
But they are completely unblest'd,
Who, bred and accusom'd to Blifs,
Like us, on a sudden oppress'd,
Are plung'd in a hopeless Abyfs.

STROPHE II.

Thee, *Iphigenia*, thro' yon watry Way
A well mann'd Bark to *Argos* shall convey:
While the toiling Crew to chear,
Pan his whistling Pipe shall bring,
And *Apollo*, heav'nly Seer,
Tuning to the *Lyrick* String
His Voice divine, shall speed the lab'ring Oar,
With joyous Pæans to th' *Athenian* Shore.
Iphigenia, thou shalt go,
Leaving wretched me behind,
And to favour thee shall blow
Ev'ry fair and gentle Wind:
Fair blow the Wind, and swell the puffing Sail,
Till the tough Cordage stretch before the Gale.

ANTI-

ANTISTROPHE II.

Oh! might I travel thro' yon lucid Road,
Where rolls the Chariot of the fiery God!

Might I thro' th' impassive Air

My unwearied Course pursue!

Till, distinguish'd from afar,

My dear Country rose to view!

Then quick descending from my airy Height,
My Pinions wou'd I close, and stay my Flight.

Then lead on the dancing Choir,

As upon my bridall Morn,

When I strove with rich Attire

Each fair Feature to adorn,

And shading with my Hair my blushing Face,
By half concealing heighten'd ev'ry Grace.

The End of the Fourth Act.



ACT V.

THOAS with Attendants, CHORUS.

Tho. HERE is the Guardian of this sacred Dome,
 The Grecian Virgin? Hath she yet prepar'd
 The Strangers for the Altar? Or within
 Burn now their Bodies in the sacred Fire?
Cho. Behold she comes! herself will tell you all.

[IPHIGENIA appears in the Door of the Temple, with the Statue of the Goddess in her Arms.]

Tho. Hold! wherefore, *Iphigenia*, hast thou heav'd,
 And bearest from its Shrine that heav'nly Image,
 Which from the Base may never be remov'd?

Iph. O! King, advance not, stay thy Footsteps there.

Tho. Hath ought befall'n unwonted in the Temple?

Iph. Abominations! for my holy Lips
 Must style them so.

Tho. To what strange History
 Will this Preamble usher us? Explain.

Iph. The Victims thou hast taken for the Altar,
 O *Thoas*, are unclean.

Tho. Declar'st thou this

206 I PHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

From Knowledge, *Iphigenia*, or Opinion?

Iph. The Statue of the Goddess on her Base
Turn'd round.

Tho. Self-mov'd, or by an Earthquake Shaken?

Iph. Self-mov'd and clos'd the Curtain of her Eyes.

Tho. But to what Cause ascrib'st thou an Event
So wonderfull? Uncleanneſs in theſe Strangers?

Iph. Doubtleſs; for they have done a horrid Deed.

Tho. Have they with *Scythian* Blood their Hands deſil'd?

Iph. The Guilt of Murder they brought hither with them.

Tho. What Murder? Thou haſt fill'd me with Impatience.

Iph. Againſt their Mother they conſpir'd, and ſlew her.

Tho. O *Phœbus*! No Barbarian wou'd have dar'd
A Deed ſo horrible!

Iph. And therefore *Greece*

Hath driv'n and hunted them from all her Coaſts.

Tho. Were theſe the Motives that incited thee
To bring the ſacred Image forth?

Iph. To keep her

From the Contagion of this horrid Guilt

I mov'd her from her Shrine, to this all-pure

And holy Cope of Heav'n.

Tho. From what Signs

Did'ſt thou collect theſe Strangers were unclean?

Iph. When I beheld the Goddess backward turn,
I ſtrait

I straight infer'd the Cause.

Tho.

An Eye so sharp,

A Judgment so sagacious, speaks thee wife,
And well instructed in the Arts of *Greece*.

Iph. The Strangers upon this, with a sweet Bait
Sought to allure my Heart.

Tho.

By charming thee

With some good Tidings of thy Friends in *Argos*?

Iph. They told me, that *Orestes* liv'd, my dear
And only Brother!

Tho.

That the pleasing Tale

Might in return prevail on thee to save them.

Iph. They told me farther, that my Father liv'd,
And prosper'd.

Tho.

Yet hast thou escap'd the Snare,

Still faithfull to our Goddess and her Worship.

Iph. My Soul abhors all *Greeks*: They caus'd my Ruin.

Tho. Say then, how must we treat these *Grecian* Strangers?

Iph. The Law must be respected and obey'd.

Tho. The cleansing Lavers, and the bloody Knife
Of Slaughter is prepar'd.

Iph.

The Victims first

With pure Ablutions must be sanctify'd.

Tho. Sufficeth for these sacred Purposes

The living Fountain, or the briny Wave!

D d

Iph.

208 I PHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

Ipb. The Sea best cleanses all Impurities.

Tho. So shall the Victims fall more acceptable.

Ipb. And so shall my Designs more surely speed.

Tho. Ev'n at the Temple's Foot the salt Wave breaks.

Ipb. Retirement I demand, and Solitude,
For other Matters have I to perform.

Tho. Go where thy Purpose calls: fear no Intrusion.
I pry not into hidden Mysteries.

Ipb. This Image also must be purify'd.

Tho. Yea, doubtless, if polluted by the Filth
Of him, who slew his Mother.

Ipb. Otherwise

Ne'er had my Hand remov'd it from the Shrine.

Tho. How good is Piety with Prudence join'd!

17 TROCHAIKS.

Ipb. Know'st thou what thou'd now be order'd?

Tho. 'Tis thy Office to prescribe.

Ipb. Let them bind in Chains the Strangers.

Tho. Canst thou fear they thou'd escape.

¹⁷ The Poet, to give, as I suppose, an Air of Solemnity to the Religious Ceremony of Purification, which *Iphigenia* seems here to be entering upon, and to which all the says or does in the remaining Part of this Scene, is preparatory, changes his Numbers on a sudden from the *Iambick Measure*, into another called by the Grammarians *Trochaick*. As in our *English Verse*, we have a Measure exactly answering this, as well in the *Cadence* as in the number of Feet or Syllables, I have ventured, in imitation of the Original, to make use of it upon this Occasion. That admirable Ode or Song called *Hofser's Ghost*, is compos'd entirely of *Trochaick Verses*,

Ipb.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 209

Iph. Trust no *Greek*; *Greece* is perfidious.

Tho. Slaves, depart, and bind the *Greeks*.

Iph. Having bound, conduct them hither from the Temple.

Tho. Be it done.

Iph. Then with Mantles veil their Faces from the Sun's
aetherial Flame,

And let some of thy Attendants wait on me.

Tho. Be these thy Guard.

Iph. To the City next thy Mandate issue—

Tho. What must it import?

Iph. That all keep within their Houses.

Tho. Left they meet the Murderer?

Iph. Yea; for that will cause Pollution.

Tho. Go, and publicly proclaim

That to all it is forbidden to appear in view.

Iph. O King!

Thy Affection to thy People far exceeds the Love
of Friends.

Tho. What to me, O royal Virgin, thou hast courteously
apply'd,

broken indeed into two, and *rhyming* with *Greek* and *Latin Trochaicks*, if we join the
each other, according to the Genius of the two Parts together, and read them as one
English Poetry, but in the Harmony and Line; as will appear if we compare them
Measurement agreeing precisely with the with the following Verses:

Εμπεδών δ' αὖδ' αὖ ποταμός, | τῶ δ' ἔχεν μαχαλῶ.

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit, | quique amavit cras amet.

As near Porto Bello lying | on the gently swelling Flood.

D d 2

Better

Better suits thy wond'rous Merit, whom we all admire and praise.

Iph. Thou before the Fane remaining——

Tho. What must *Thoas* here perform?

Iph. Purify the sacred Mansion.

Tho. Cleans'd and blest'd for thy Return?

Iph. But as forth proceed the Strangers——

Tho. What to me dost thou enjoin?

Iph. Spread before thine Eyes thy Mantle.

Tho. That their Sight pollute me not?

Iph. Long should I delay returning——

Tho. Fix the Limits of thy Stay.

Iph. Marvel not.

Tho. O take thy Leisure to perform the solemn Rites.

Iph. Grant, ye Gods, these Expiations may, as I intend, succeed!

Tho. I subscribe to that Petition.

Iph. From the Temple, lo! I view

This way marching the *Greek* Strangers, with the
Pomp of Sacrifice,

Holy Ensigns of *Diana*, blooming Youths to Slaughter
doom'd,

Victims, whom I now must offer, Blood to expiate
with Blood,

And the solemn Blaze of Torches, with all other
Rites requir'd,
To

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 211

To perform the due Ablution, of the Goddess and the
Greeks.

From the Reach of this Contagion, Fly! I warn ye
all to Fly!

Be thou Priest, who at the Altars of the Gods wou'dst
spotless serve!

Be thou Bridegroom with Impatience hasting to com-
plete thy Bliss!

Or a Matron sick and lab'ring with the Burden of
thy Womb!

Fly! avaunt! lest this Pollution thou'd infect and
blast your Joys!

Virgin Daughter of *Latoona*, mighty Goddess, heav'nly
Queen!

So I may for these propitiate, and to thee in such a
Place,

As by thee shall be accepted, may due Sacrifice
perform,

In a Temple pure and holy, thou unspotted Maid,
shalt dwell,

And we also shall be happy—What I farther wou'd
express,

Tho' unutter'd, thou omniscient, Heav'n and thou
canst understand.

[*Exeunt IPH. ORES. PYL. and Procession, &c. manet CHORUS.*
ODE,

O D E.

*Cho.*¹⁸ Great is *Latona's* Offspring! which of yore
In rich *Ortygia's* fruitfull Vale she bore!

Phœbus with curling Gold array'd,
Sweet Master of the *Lyrick* String,
And great *Diana*, Silver-shafted Maid,
The Mighty Seed of Heav'n's immortal King!
From *Delos*, that o'erlooks the circling Floods,
From *Delos*, famous for the Birth of Gods,
To high *Parnassus*, on whose sacred Heads
His holy Revels oft young *Bacchus* holds,
Her heav'nly Offspring did *Latona* bear,
Where underneath a Laurel's verd'rous shade,
A monstrous Serpent in unnumber'd Folds
Wound up his spotted Train, and from afar
Glitt'ring with brazen Scales, and glaring wide

¹⁸ As *Orestes* undertook his Expedition into *Taurick Scythia* by command of the *Delphick* Oracle, the *Chorus* takes occasion to relate its divine Institution according to the traditional and legendary Account of it received by the *Greeks*. And sure nothing could be imagined more proper to prepare the Audience for the Catastrophe of the Drama than the History of the sacred Original of that Oracle: which, by setting forth that it was instituted by *Apollo*, the Brother of *Diana*, and the great Prophet of Heaven, and ratified by their

Father *Jupiter*, the Sovereign of the Gods, intimates that all those Deities were interested in the Accomplishment of its Predictions; consequently that its Promises ought to be relied upon with a religious Confidence, and their Accomplishment expected notwithstanding any Appearances to the contrary. This is visibly the Design of the following Ode, which is the more artful, because it does not appear at first sight, nor anticipate the Event of the Fifth Act, tho' it invisibly prepares the Reader for them.

With

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 213

With fiery Orbs suffus'd with Blood,
Before th' inspiring Cavern flood,
And to the Tripod all Accels deny'd.

Him, the foul Spawn of Earth, *Apollo* flew,
While at *Latona's* Breast as yet he hung,
And in her Arms with sportive Vigour sprung
Exulting in his Might,
Impatient for the Fight,
Impatient his huge Foe the *Python* to subdue.

Then entering the Prophetick Cave,
Down on the Golden Tripod fate the God,
And from that Seat of Truth his Answers gave,
From that divine Abode

His sacred Oracles he sung,
While anxious Mortals listen'd to his Tongue.

There by *Castalia's* Silver Tides

The *Delphick* Seer resides,

All in the Center of the Globe enthron'd,
Thence equally to deal his heav'nly Truths around.

But when the Beldam Earth beheld
Her Daughter *Themis* from her Shrine expell'd,
Fantastick Spectres in her fruitful Womb
She bred, Companions of Night's thickest Gloom;
And to inquiring Mortals, as they lay
Stretch'd in her darksome Grotts, she bade them rise,

1

And

And in Prophetick Dreams display
 Their present, past, and future Destinies.
 While in Repentment of her injur'd Child,
 Thus of a Prophet's Praise *Apollo* she beguill'd.
 But to *Olympus'* airy Height
 With Speed *Apollo* took his Flight,
 And there besought th'Almighty Sire
 To interpose his Pow'r divine,
 To quell the vengefull Beldam's Ire,
 And drive her Spectres from the *Pythian* Shrine.
 The Father smil'd, to hear his Son
 Solicit such a gainful Boon,
 And for his *Pythian* Dome demand
 The Gold, as well as Worship of the Land.
 The Father smil'd, and bow'd his Head;
 Earth's visionary Phantoms fled;
 And lying Dreams no more believ'd,
 No more inquiring Man deceiv'd.
 To *Phæbus* was restor'd his former Fame:
 Again to *Delphi* crouding Nations came,
 Consulting boldly that unerring Shrine,
 Where Truth once more had plac'd her Throne di-
 vine.

Enter

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 215

Enter a Messenger.

Mes. Ye Servants of the Temple, ye who wait
At great *Diana's* Altars, tell me, Where?
Say, where is *Thoas* King of *Scythia* gone?
Call, open your strong Gates, and call him forth,
Forth from the Temple bid our Monarch come.

Cho. What wou'd'st thou?—but strict Silence was en-
join'd us.

Mes. The two young *Grecian* Strangers are gone off;
By *Iphigenia's* Counsel and Assistance
They are departed hence, and in their Bark
Bear with them the fam'd Image of our Goddess.

Cho. The Tale thou tellest merits not our Faith,
But he, for whom thou dost inquire, the King,
Is hastily departed from the Temple.

Mes. Where? for 'tis fit he know what now is doing.

Cho. We know not; hasten thou, and seek him out,
And if perchance thou find him, tell thy Tale.

Mes. Are not all Women treacherous and false?

Ye are Accomplices in this Transaction.

Cho. Thy Words proceed from a disemper'd Mind.
How can these Strangers Flight relate to us?

Mes. Then wherefore fly ye not to the King's Palace?

Cho. Not till we first have gain'd Intelligence,

E e

If

216 IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

If in the Temple yet our King remains.

Meſ. Ho! open there! To you within I call.

Inform the King, that at the Gate there ſtands
One, fraught with Tidings horrible and ſtrange.

Enter THOAS.

Tho. What's he that round the Temple of the Goddeſs
This Clamour raifes, forcing the barr'd Gates,
And ſtriking all within with Fear and Horrour?

Meſ. Theſe Women, *Thoas*, have with Lyes deceiv'd me,
And fought to ſend me hence, reporting falſly
Thou from the Fane wert haſtily departed.

Tho. From ſuch a Fraud to them what Gain accrues?

Meſ. That will I ſhew hereafter: Now attend

To what is now more urgent. The young Virgin,
Who at *Diana's* Altars here preſides,
Young *Iphigenia*, with the *Grecian* Strangers,
Is flying from this Shore, and with her bears
The venerable Image of our Goddeſs.

Th' Ablutions, ſhe pretended, were a Cheat.

Tho. How ſay'ſt thou, what bad Daemon hath poſſeſs'd her?

Meſ. Know then, ſeſh Matter for Aſtoniſhment,
She did it to preſerve *Oreſtes'* Life.

Tho. Whom? what *Oreſtes*? *Clytemneſtra's* Son?

Meſ. The Victim, whom ſhe feign'd to purify.

Tho.

Tho. A Miracle! I cannot style it less!

Mes. Fix not thy Thoughts on that; but list to me,
And when thou shalt have heard, and weigh'd my
Tale,

Advise how to pursue and take these Strangers.

Tho. Say on; thou counsel'st well; no narrow Frith
Have they to pass, that soon they shou'd expect
To fly beyond the Reach of my strong Spear.

Mes. When to the Sea-beat Shore we now arriv'd,
Where undescry'd *Orestes'* Vessel lay,
The Daughter of *Atrides*, *Iphigenia*,
As she were then beginning to perform
Some mystick Sacrifice, or solemn Rite
Of Expiation, which with earnest Care
She seem'd to be preparing, with a Nod
Commanded us, who, as thou didst enjoin,
Attended her, and led the Pris'ners bound,
Back to retire; and taking in her Hand
Their Chains, march'd on, herself conducting them.
This seem'd indeed suspicious, but thy Slaves,
O *Thoas*, acquiesc'd in her Commands.
Some short Space after, that she might appear
Still in her Mysteries engag'd, she scream'd
Aloud, and chaunted forth some barb'rous Strain,
As the dread Act of holy Expiation

218 I PHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

That Instant were perform'd—But when in vain
 Long time we fate expecting, in our Minds
 A sudden Fear arose, lest those *Greek* Strangers,
 Bursting their Fetters, might attempt to slay
 The Virgin Priestess, and escape by Flight.
 Yet cautious of surveying what the Gods
 Ordain to be conceal'd, we silent fate;
 At length, by common Vote it was decreed
 To go, altho' forbidden, to the Place:
 There we no sooner came, but we descry'd
 A *Grecian* Gally, with her Oars like Wings
 Advanc'd, and flutt'ring for immediate Flight,
 With fifty jovial Sailors by her Sides,
 Rang'd on their Benches, and the two young *Greeks*
 Unbound, and standing on the lofty Poop:
¹⁹ Some kept the Prow with Staves, while on the *Bows*
 Some stow'd the Anchors, others to the Rocks,

¹⁹ As the *Athenians* were a maritime
 People, *Euripides* might look upon the De-
 tail he here enters into, and the *Sea Terms*
 which he makes use of, as a Kind of Com-
 pliment to them upon their great Skill and
 Knowledge in Sea Affairs. It is certain, how-
 ever that he spoke to them in a Language
 very well understood, few or none of his
 Audience being wholly unacquainted with
 Navigation. By this Detail, therefore, of
 the *Operations* on board the Vessel of
Orestes, he set before their Eyes a stronger
 and more lively Picture of the Hurry, as

well as the Address of the Mariners, in get-
 ting their Vessel out to Sea, than any ge-
 neral Description could have given them.
 In this I thought myself obliged, as a Trans-
 lator, to follow my Original as well as I
 was able, that is, by using Terms analo-
 gous to the *Greek*, and sometimes giving
 the *Sense* instead of the Words and Phrase
 of *Euripides*, as in the following Lines:

οἱ δὲ κλίμακας
 Σπρυδούσας, ἤγον διὰ χερσὶν περιμνήσας.
 Πλοῖον δὲ δούρας τῶν ξένων καθίσταν.

That

That butted o'er the Main, with nimble Feet
 On Ladders climbing, by the Haufers drew
 The Vessel to the Shore, to take on board
 The Virgin Priestefs, to the Deck beneath,
 Now o'er the Billows hasting to descend.
 But we perceiving then their treacherous Schemes,
 Regardless of all Danger, on her feiz'd,
 And grafping fast the Haufers, boldly leapt
 Upon the Stern, and tore the Rudder off;
 And thus expoftulating with them, faid:
 On what Pretence, O Strangers, fail ye hither
 O'er the wide Ocean, from our Shrine to steal,
 And bear away our Priestefs and our Image?
 What Right haft thou to force this Virgin hence,
 Like a bought Slave? and whence? and who art thou?
 To this he quick reply'd, " That thou mayft know,

which literally tranflated run thus: *Others*, Ladders or Steps to enable *Iphigenia*, who running haftily up the Ladders [Steps or Bridges] drew or paffed through their Hands the Stern-Cables or Haufers, and committing the Virgin Stranger [*Iphigenia*] to the Sea, let her down, viz. into the Ship. From thefe Words it is plain that the Veffel was at fome fmall Diflance from the Shore, and that the Sailors, by drawing in the Haufers, endeavour'd to get it nearer the Shore, which from the Word *καθίστα*, let down, appears to have been higher than the Park: for which Reason they got out their

Ladders or Steps to enable *Iphigenia*, who flood upon the Shore, to pafs over the Sea into the Ship. That *καίμακας* fignifies Ladders, Steps, or Bridges, ufed among the *Greeks* to pafs from one Ship to another, or from the Ship to the Shore, may be feen in *Potter's Antiquities*. I thought proper to give this Comment upon thefe Words to juftify my Tranflation, which, I flatter myfelf, exhibits the true Meaning of *Eu-ripides*, not very obvious, and miftaken both by the *Latin* and *French* Tranflators.

" I am

“ I am *Orestes*, Brother to this Virgin,

“ The Son of *Agamemnon*, hither come

“ Home to convey my Sister, lost so long.”

Yet fast we held the Virgin still, and fain

Wou’d have compell’d her to return to thee;

Whence many a Bruise and Buffet soon ensu’d;

For Weapons we had none, but carried on

The Fight with Nature’s Arms, which in our Sides

And Breasts the two young Strangers darted fierce,

Till ev’ry Limb was batter’d and with Toil

Forespent: Then flying on a craggy Cliff

We mounted, bearing on our Heads and Eyes

The bloody Marks of Violence and Strife.

There more at Ease the Battle we renew’d

From the high Rocks, and batter’d them with Stones.

But thence the Archers standing on the Deck

Soon drove us, and compell’d us to retire.

Mean while, (for then a mighty Wave roll’d in,

Waiting the Gally nearer to the Shore)

Orestes boldly plunging in the Sea

(The Crew all seeming fearfull and unwilling)

His Sister seiz’d, and placing on his Back,

Safe thro’ the Waves transported her aboard.

Then too the Statue of the *Jove*-born Maid,

The sacred Image, that fell down from Heav’n,

In

20 In the Mid-Gally utter'd thus her Voice:

“Haste, haste, ye jovial Mariners of *Greece*,

“Now ply your Oars, and spread the Waves with Foam:

“Now have we gain'd those Points for which we sail'd

“The stormy *Euxine* and dire *Bosphorus*!”

Whereat the Crew, forth carolling at once

Their toil-begotten Note, each other chear'd,

And beat with lusty Oars the dashing Brine;

While yet within the Bay the Gally swam,

She ran a-head amain, but passing out,

A mighty Swell she met, that heav'd her back;

And a brisk Gale arising suddenly

Still lock'd her in the Port, while all in vain

The struggling Oar essay'd to stem the Wave,

That drove them ever backward on the Shore.

Then flood the Daughter of *Atides* forth,

And to *Diana* thus address'd her Pray'r:

“O Daughter of *Latona*, save me, save

“Thy Priests, flying from this barb'rous Land

“To her own native *Greece*, and O forgive

20 This miraculous Speech of the sacred Image serves two Purposes; first, to encourage the *Greeks*, by assuring them that the Goddess did not only approve of their carrying off her Image and her Priests, but had concurred and co-operated with them, which is implied in these Words:

Now have we gain'd those Points for which we sail'd, &c.

Secondly, to deter the *Scythians*, among whom the Alarm was now given, from molesting or pursuing the *Greeks*, by shewing them, that she went willingly along with them, and had taken them under her Protection.

“My

“ My pious Theft! Thou, Goddess, lov’st thy Brother,
 “ Allow me then to love my Brother too!”

To this the Virgin’s Pray’r the Sailors all
 Reply’d with Pæans loud, and to the Oar
 Their broad bare Arms applying, toil’d and sung.
 Yet nearer to the Rocks the Gally drew:

Which noting, some into the Billows plung’d,
 While some more prudent got their Anchors out.
 Mean time I hither was dispatch’d, O King,
 To make Relation of these strange Events.

Then haste, provide us Manacles and Chains!
 For if the Waves abate not of their Rage,
 All Hopes of Safety to the *Greeks* are lost.

The Ruler of the Sea is *Uion’s* Friend,
 The Foe profess’d to the whole Race of *Pelops*,
 And will again deliver to our Hands,

As is most meet, the Son of *Agamemnon*,
 With his false Sister; who no longer seems
 To bear in Mind the Sacrifice in *Aulis*.

Cho. Unhappy *Iphigenia*, thou, alas!

Thou and thy Brother, should our mighty Lord
 Once more attach you, must together perish.

Tho. Natives of *Scythia*, all, attend my Summons!

Why mount ye not your Steeds, and on the Shore
 Fly to receive the Freight of this *Greek* Vessel

Now

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 223

Now cast upon our Coast? *Diana's* self
 Shall lend you Wings to chace these impious Wretches.
 Hastethers, and with speed launch your swift Barks,
 That whether on the Land or Ocean seiz'd
 We may or cast them headlong from the Rocks,
 Or fix their Bodies on the painful Stake.
 For you, th' Accomplices of these vile Schemes,
 Ye wretched Women, when Occasion fits,
 You shall receive your Punishment. At present
 Affairs of greater haste demand our Care.

²¹ MINERVA descends.

Min. Hold, *Thoas*! whither hastest thou to lead
 Thy furious Squadrons? Lift! *Minerva* speaks.
 Stay thy Pursuit! nor rouze the Waves of War!

²¹ The Intervention of *Minerva* will be
 found to be strictly agreeable to the Rule
 laid down by *Horace*,

*nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
 Inciderit.*

if we consider that, notwithstanding the
 Protection and Concurrence of *Diana*, the
Greeks were still prevented from making
 their Escape, by *Neptune*, who had apparently
 declared against them, and by raising a
 Storm had driven them back upon the
 Coast of *Scythia*. This at least is what the
Scythians pretended to believe, and were,
 in Consequence of that Belief, preparing
 to pursue them as sacrilegious Wretches,
 delivered by Heaven into their Hands.

The Interposition therefore of some other
 Deity was absolutely necessary to bring
 about the Escape of *Orestes*, and to stop
 the Fury of the *Scythians*. And no one
 could be so proper as *Minerva*, the tut-
 lar Goddess of *Athens*, to which City
Orestes was going to convey the sacred
 Image of *Diana*. *Minerva* accordingly ap-
 ples herself in the first Place to *Neptune*;
 and having by her Intreaties gained him to
 favour the Escape of *Orestes*, she then ad-
 dresses herself to *Thoas*, King of *Scythia*;
 who was arming his Subjects, in order to
 pursue the *Greeks* both by Land and Sea.
 Him she stops, not only by shewing him
 that it would be in vain to pursue them,
 since *Neptune* had at her Request wasted
 For

For by *Apollo's* Oracles enjoin'd

Orestes hither came, to shun at once

The persecuting Furies' vengeful Ire,

His Sister back to *Argos* to convey,

And to my City bear the sacred Image.

Thus much to thee, O *Thoas*; as for him,

Whom intercepted by the swelling Surge

Thou thoughtest to have slain, the young *Orestes*,

Him o'er the level and unruffled Deep

At my Request hath *Neptune* wafted far.

And now, *Orestes*, listen to my Voice!

(Tho' absent thou canst hear the Voice divine)

Proceed now with thy Sister and the Goddess: ●

them out of his Reach, but by taking from him all Cause of Resentment against *Orestes* and *Iphigenia*, telling him that what they had done proceeded from the express Orders of *Apollo*. But the Poet had still a farther View in bringing *Minerva* here upon the Stage: The *Ciors*, consisting of *Græcian* Women, who had been taken by Pirates out of their own Countries, and sold for Slaves into *Scythia*, ought not, in Justice, to be left to perish there, for their Fidelity to their Mistress *Iphigenia*, to whom they belonged, having been presented to her by *Thoas*, King of that Country. And yet, as it was apparent from their Behaviour to the Messenger who came to inform the King of the treacherous Designs of *Iphigenia*, that they were acquainted with that Secret, Death or some other grievous Punishment must inevitably have attended them, as

I

Accomplices in that Treason; for so *Thoas* considers them, and threatens them accordingly: Here then again the Interposition of *Minerva* was both proper and necessary. To these two Reasons for introducing *Minerva* upon this Occasion may be added another, which undoubtedly had great Weight with *Euripides*; since it presented him with a fair Opportunity of ingratiating himself with his Audience, the People of *Athens*, by giving in the Name and Person of *Minerva* the Sanction of a divine Original to the Institution of several religious Rites and Ceremonies then observed in that City. This is visibly the Design of the far greater Part of the Speech, which he here puts into the Mouth of *Minerva*: and tho' what she says upon this Occasion, does not, strictly speaking, belong to his Subject, and regards the Audience more than any of the

But

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. 225

But when to Heav'n-built *Athens* thou shalt come,
 There on her utmost Confines is a Spot,
 Adjoining to the high *Carystian* Shore,
 Deem'd holy, and my People call it *Alæ*:
 There shalt thou raise a Temple, and enshrine
 The heav'nly Image, which shall bear the Name
 Of *Scythian Artemis*, to future Times
 A lasting Monument of all the Woes
 Which in thy devious Travels thou didst bear,
 When the fell Furies hunted thee thro' *Greece*.
 There Mortals shall henceforth their Offerings bring,
 And celebrate in Hymns the *Taurick* Maid.
 This Custom also shalt thou institute,

Personages of the Drama then upon the Stage (who were only the *Chorus* and the *Scythians*) yet he has with great Art and Judgment connected and interwoven it with the Body of the Piece, by making *Minerva* address her Words, and direct her Orders to *Orestes* though absent; and give a Reason for so doing, which at the same time justifies her Conduct, and in a very striking manner expresses her Divinity:

Tho' absent, thou canst bear the Voice divine.

All this could not fail of sensibly affecting an *Athenian* Audience, ever much addicted to Superstition, and always accustomed to be flattered by their Orators and Poets.

I shall close these Remarks, in which I have endeavoured to point out some particular Instances of the Art and Judgment of *Euripides* in the Conduct of this Play,

with the Words of *Mont. Brumey*, who concludes his *Reflections* upon this Piece with the following Observation. “It is impossible (says that learned Jesuit) not to take Notice of a certain Air of Truth and Reality peculiar to the *Greek* Taste, which runs throughout this whole Piece, and which consists in making the Spectator believe that the Event did really happen in the Manner in which he sees it represented on the Stage, and that it could not have happened otherwise. A Thing, adds he, that cannot so precisely be affirmed of the greater Part of our *French* Tragedies, which, when they succeed, most commonly excite in the Minds of the Audience an Admiration rather of the Art of the Poet, than any Impression of Truth and Reality, with regard to the Action represented.”

That

226 I PHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

That when my People hold the solemn Feast
 Memorial of thy having here escap'd
 The deadly Altar, shall a Man be brought,
 And to his Throat the sacrificing Knife
 The Pontiff shall present, and draw his Blood
 An Off'ring to the Goddess, that she lose
 No Portion of her customary Honours.
 There also, *Iphigenia*, still shalt thou
 Continue on her Altars to attend,
 The Guardian of the rich *Brauronian* Shrine.
 And there, when thou art dead, shalt thou be laid,
 And to thy Tomb, as Off'rings, shall be brought
 Silk-broider'd Mantles of all curious Woofs,
 Such as unhappy Matrons, in the Pangs
 Of Travail dying, shall behind them leave.
 Moreover, this Injunction do I lay
 On thee, *Orestes*, from this barb'rous Land
 That to their Homes thou bring these *Grecian* Women:
 An equitable Law; for I preserv'd
 Thy Life, and in thy Favour Sentence gave,
 When at thy Trial on the Hill of *Mars*
 The Votes were equal found; and 'tis my Will
 That in whatever Cause the Votes henceforth
 In Number shall be equal, on the Side
 Of Mercy shall the Judgment be presum'd.

And,

And, Son of *Agamemnon*, now sail on !
Sail with thy Sister from this barb'rous Shore !
And thou, O *Thoas* ! mitigate thy Rage.

Tho. O *Pallas* ! mighty Goddess ! heav'nly Queen !
Fond and unwise is he, who doth refuse
To hearken to the high Benefits of Heav'n.
Nor 'gainst *Orestes*, tho' he bear from hence
The venerable Image of our Goddess,
Nor 'gainst his Sister, in my Breast henceforth
Shall harbour any Rage ! For mortal Man
To struggle with the mighty Gods, is vain.
Then may they safely to thy Land transport
The sacred Image, and enshrine it there.
And farther in Obedience thy Voice,

These Women will I send to Heav'n-lov'd *Greece*,
And lay aside the Spear and hostile Bark,
Prepar'd the flying *Greeks* to intercept.
Whatever thou commandest, I applaud.
It is most meet that Heav'n's high Will prevail.

Min. Go, gentle Gales, and favourably waft,
Waft young *Orestes* to th' *Albenian* Shore !
Myself will also go with you along,
In Person to convoy my Sister's Image.
And, Mortals, ye whom Heav'n's protecting Hand
Hath wonderfully fav'd, depart in Joy !

[*MINERVA re-ascends.*]

Cho. Virgin *Pallas*! Child of *Jove*!

By the Gods rever'd above!
And by Mortals fear'd below!
To thy sov'reign Will we bow!
Thy Behest, celestial Maid,
Shall with Rev'rence be obey'd!
Joys not ev'n in Hope attain'd
Hath thy heav'nly Voice ordain'd,
Virgin *Pallas*! Child of *Jove*,
Fear'd below, rever'd above!

The End of the Fifth Act.



T H E

TRIUMPHS

OF THE

G O O U T.

Translated from the Greek of

L U C I A N.

Tollere nodosam nescit Medicina Podagram. OVID.

Dramatis Personæ.

Goddess of the Court.	Messenger.
Ocypus.	Mountebanks.
Physician.	Chorus.
Nurse.	Spirits.

Scene lies in *Thebes*.

Triumphs of the GOUT.

SCENE, a Chamber.

Enter OCYPUS lame, and leaning on the Nurse.

OCYP. **W**HENCE, without Wound proceeds this horrid Pain,

That robs me of the Assistance of my Feet?

While, like a Bow-string by the forcefull Arm

Of some bold Archer strain'd, the cracking Sinews

Labour and stretch; and force me to complain,

That Length of Time but strengthens the Disease.

NUR. Raife thyself up, my Son, nor bear so hard,

Left, helpless as thou art, with thee I fall.

OCYP. Less weighty then, to humour thee, I'll lean,

And rest upon my Foot, and bear my Pain.

¹ OCYPUS, the Son of *Podalirius* and *Alrasia*, was eminent for his Strength and Beauty, a great Lover of Hunting, and all Gymnastick Exercises. This young Man having been accustomed to insult and deride whomsoever he saw grievously afflicted with the Gout, telling them at the same time, that their Pains were nothing, brought upon himself the Indignation of the Goddes,

who presides over that Distemper, and was at last, by the Violence of the Disease, drove to a Recantation. *Lucian* had composed an entire Drama upon this Subject; but as only the Beginning of this Piece remains, I have translated it, and with very little Alteration in either, have made it a Part of his other Drama, whose Subject is the Triumph of the Gout over Physick.

G 8

For

For Shame it is, that Youth shou'd ask the Aid
Of such a prating, odd, decrepit Wretch.

Nur. Forbear, vain Boy, thy scoffing Infolence.
Nor vaunt too much thy Youth; ~~set well thou know'st,~~

In Sickness Youth is impotent as Age.

Be govern'd; for this Arm shou'd I withdraw,
Thou fall'st, while my old Feet unshaken stand.

Oryp. But if thou fall'st, thro' Age thou fall'st, not Sickness:

Old Age is weak, tho' prompt and willing ever—
Nur. Leave arguing; and tell me by what Chance

This Pain hath got Possession of thy Toe.

Oryp. As in the Course I exercis'd, awry

My Ankle turn'd, and thence the Pain ensu'd,

Nur. Why, as the Fellow said, who careles sat

Clipping his grisley Beard, then run again.

Oryp. Or wrestling might I not the Hurt receive,

When lock'd together were our grappling Limbs?

Nur. A trusty Champion by my Troth thou art,

If all thy Fury light upon thyself.

But this is a meer Circle of Evasions.

And I myself the like Discourse have held

In former times, and try'd to varnish o'er,

E'en to my dearest Friends, th' unpleasing Truth;

But now when ev'ry swelling Member speaks,

And burning Dolours torture thy whole Body—

Enter

Enter Physician.

Phy. O! where is *Orypus*, illustrious Youth?

For lame, I hear, are his victorious Feet.

And therefore to assist him am I come.

But see! where careles on the Couch diffus'd,

Supine he lies!—Heav'n grant thee Health, my Son,

And to thy Feet restore their wonted Strength.

Declare to me, O *Orypus*, the Cause

Of thy Complaint: perhaps my pow'rfull Art

May for thy Anguish find some quick Relief.

Oryp. Intolerable Pain my Foot consumes.

Phy. Whence came it? how? what Accident? explain.

Oryp. Or in the straining Race, or happily while

My Gymnick Exercises I perform'd,

Some Hurt from my Companions I receiv'd.

Phy. Then where's the sore and angry Inflammation?

And why no Fomentation on the Part?

Oryp. The woollen Bandage I abhor.

Nur. Alas!

How banefull is the Pride of handsome Looks!

Phy. What therefore must be done? shall I lay open

Thy tumid Foot? But, *Orypus*, be sure

If once I seize upon it, I shall drain,

At many bleeding Wounds, thy Arteries.

G g 2

Oryp.

Ocypr. Put all thy new Devices now in Practice,

So from this horrid Pain my Foot be freed.

Phy. Then lo! my steely Instrument I draw,

This crooked, sharp, blood-thirsting Instrument.

Ocypr. Hey! ho!

Nur.

Physician, what dost thou intend?

Wou'dst thou with sharp Incisions vex him more?

And, without knowing why, his Foot endanger?

He hath abus'd thee with an idle Tale.

For neither in the straining Race, nor while

His Gymnick Exercises he perform'd,

From his Companions did he Hurt receive.

Then listen to my Tale. Healthfull he came,

And all unwounded home; and greedily

The Ev'ning Feast devour'd, and drain'd the Bowl;

Then falling on the Couch securely slept.

But at Mid-night awaking, loud he roar'd,

As smitten by some God: Fear seiz'd us all.

And, Oh! he cried, whence came this dire Mischance?

Some torturing Daemon seizes on my Foot.

Thus on his Couch up-sitting all Night long

His Foot in sad Solemnity he moan'd.

But when the Cock's shrill-sounding Trump proclaim

The dawning Day, lamenting forth he comes,

And on my Shoulder leans his feverish Hand,
While his disabled Footsteps I upheld.
All that he told thee is a forg'd Device
To veil the Secret of his dire Disease,
Which now in ev'ry Limb begins to rack him,
Nor yet is able to extort the Truth.

Ocyp. Old Age is ever arm'd with mighty Words;
Vaunting in Speech, but impotent in Action.
He, who when sick his nursing Friends deceives,
Like the starv'd Wretch that hungry² Maffick chews,
But cheats himself, and fosters his Disease.

Phy. Thou cheatest all; now that, now saying this,
Confessing Pain, but not explaining what.

Ocyp. And how shall I explain it? I indeed
Know that I suffer Pain; and that is all.

Phy. When Pain, without apparent Cause, invades
The swelling Foot, a Man may please himself
In hunting after this and that Solution,
But can't mistake the Nature of his Evil.
And now hear this, how'er unpleasing Truth,
At length, with Vengeance due, it's come upon thee.

Ocyp. It? what? alas! what terrible Disease,

² Maffick is a great Strengtheners of the is so far from being a Relief, that it rather
Stomack, and consequently promotes Ap- increases his Complaint: this I take to be
petite, which to a Man dying of Hunger the meaning of this Passage.

That needs such Preface to its horrid Name?
Nur. The Gout, O wretched *Ocyrops*, whose Pangs
And gnawing Tortures thou didst once deride.

Ocyp. But what, O skilfull Artift, what fay'st thou?

Phy. Farewell, to serve thee I neglect myself.

Ocyp. What Accident or Business calls thee hence?

Phy. Into a cureless Evil thou art fall'n.

Ocyp. Must I then ever lame, tormented ever,
Drag on a Life of everlasting Woe?

Phy. Fear not; thou shalt not be for ever lame.

Ocyp. What worse have I to fear?

Phy.

On either Leg

Her galling Fetters will the Goddess bind.

Ocyp. Alas! in t'other sympathizing Foot
Methinks I feel a new unusual Pain.

Or am I motionless? Or wherefore dread I *[rising up]*

To place these once so nimble Feet on Earth?

Seiz'd like a Child with vain and sudden Fear:

Now by the Gods, th' immortal Gods, I beg,

If ought thy Art suggest of Aid or Comfort,

Thy friendly Help impart, and heal my Pain,

Or surely I shall die: within I feel

The secret Venom, and the thrilling Arrow

That pierces thro' my Feet, and tears my Sinews.

Phy. Not to amuse thee with unmeaning Words,

Like

Like some of those who call themselves Physicians,
 But of the healing Science nothing know,
 I'll briefly shew the State of thy Complaint:
 An unsurmountable and strong Disease
 Is fall'n upon thee: Bonds more hard and stubborn
 Than those Steel-temper'd Shackles, which the Hand
 Of Justice fixes on the bold Offender:
 A dreadful, undiscover'd, secret Ill,
 Whose Burden human Nature scarce can bear.

Ocyp. Alas! oh! oh! what inward Smart is this,
 That penetrates my Foot? oh! on thy Arm
 Support me, ere I fall, and lead me on
 As the young Satyr's reeling *Bacchus* lead.

[falls on the Couch.

Phy. There leave him on the Couch; refreshing Sleep
 His much exhausted Spirits will recruit.

Exeunt Nurse and Physician.

OCYPUS solus.

Ocyp. O horrid Name! detested by the Gods!
 Gout, ruefull Gout! of sad ³ *Cocytus* born!
 Whom in the mirky Caves of *Tartarus*
 The Fiend *Megara* in her Womb conceiv'd,

³ *Cocytus*, one of the Rivers in Hell; so *Cocytus*, nam'd from Lamentation loud
 named, from a Greek Word, which signifies to lament. *Heard on the ruefull Stream.*

And nourish'd at her Breast: *Alecto* too
With her fell Milk the wayward Infant fed.
But oh! what God brought thy disastrous Pow'r
To taint this Light, and harrafs human Kind?
If Punishment condign pursue the Dead,
For Crimes committed in their Days of Nature,
What need was there in *Pluto's* dreary Realms
With Streams forbidden *Tantalus* to vex?
To whirl *Ixion* on the giddy Wheel?
And weary *Sisyphus* with fruitless Toil?
It sure had been sufficient Punishment
Had each Offender the sharp Pains endur'd,
That tear this meagre miserable Carcase:
While thro' th' obstructed Pores the struggling Vapour
And bitter Distillation force their Way.
E'en thro' the Bowels runs the scalding Plague,
And wastes the Flesh with Floods of eddying Fire.
So rage the Flames in *Ætna's* sulph'rous Womb:
So 'twixt *Charybdis* and vex'd *Scylla* rave
Th' imprison'd Tides, and in wild Whirlpools tofs'd
Dash 'gainst the mould'ring Rocks the foaming Surge.
O Evil unexplor'd! how oft in vain
We fondly try to mitigate thy Woes,
And find no Comfort, by false Hopes abus'd. [*Sleeps.*]

SCENE

OF THE GOUT.

239

SCENE changes, and discovers the Chorus, consisting of Gouty Men and Women, marching in Procession to the Temple of the Gout, with Musick and Dancing.

Chorus. To tender ⁴ *Attis*, beardless Boy,
The howling *Phrygian* Throng
On *Cybele's* high Mountain chant
Th' enthusiastick Song.

On yellow *Tmolus's* flow'ry Top
The *Lydian* Youth around
For ⁵ *Comus* mix the warbling Voice
And Flute's melodious Sound.

With clashing Arms, in frantick Mood,
The mad *Idean* Train
Attemper to the *Cretan* Dance
Their holy ritual Strain.

To *Mars*, the furious God of War,
The fwelling Trumpets breathe,
Preluding to contentious Strife,
To Battle, Blood, and Death.

⁴ *Attis*, a beautiful Boy, beloved by *Madneſs*, &c. After his Death he was wor-
Cybele the Mother of the Gods: She made him one of her Priests, and enjoined him
Chastity; but he having lain with the Nymph
Sangarites, ſhe in Anger ſtruck him with
bauchery.

⁵ *Comus*, the God of Revelling and De-
bauchery.
H h But

THE TRIUMPHS

But we, O Gout, afflictive Pow'r!
 We thy sad Votaries,
 In Sighs and Groans to thee perform
 Our annual Sacrifice:

When usher'd by the blushing Hours
 The genial Spring appears;
 And ev'ry Flow'r-embroider'd Vale
 Its verdant Mantle wears:

When Zephyr on each pregnant Tree
 Calls forth the tender Leaves;
 And her sad Nest the Swallow builds
 Beneath the friendly Eaves:

When in the Grove, at Midnight Hour,
 Disconsolate, alone,
 For ⁶ *Irys* lost th' *Athenian* Bird
 Renews her plaintive Moan.

[*Exit* Chorus.]

⁶ *Irys*, the Son of *Tereus* and *Progne*, who cut out her Tongue; but she found Means was slain by his Aunt *Philomela*, and served to discover it to her Sister. *Philomela* was up at Table to his Father *Tereus*, at the instigation of his Mother *Progne*, whose Husband *Tereus* had ravished *Philomela* and turned into a Nightingale, and *Irys* into a Pheasant.

SCENE,

SCENE, *A Chamber.*OCYPUS *solus.*

Ocyp. Come, O my Comfort, my Supporter, come,
My Staff, my third best Leg, O! now uphold
My tottering Footsteps, and direct my Way,
That lightly on the Earth my Foot may tread.
Wretch, from thy Pallet raise thy heavy Limbs,
And quit the cover'd Closeness of the Room.
Dispell the Cloud, that weighs thy Eyelids down,
In open Day, and in the golden Sun
On purer Air thy enliven'd Spirit feast.
For now my willing Mind invites me forth;
But the weak Flesh refuses to comply.
Be resolute, my Soul; for well thou know'st,
The Gouty Wretch, that wou'd but cannot move,
Ought to be number'd with th' inactive Dead.
Come on.

Exit OCYPUS.

SCENE *changes.*

*Enter OCYPUS, who discovers the Chorus before a Temple offering
Sacrifices to the Gout, with Musick and Dancing. Dance.*

Ocyp.—But who are they, whose Hands with Crutches fill'd,
Whose tossing Heads with Eldern Garlands bound,

H h 2

Seem

Seem in wild Dance some Feast to celebrate?
 Do they to thee, *Apollo*, Pæans sing?
 Then wou'd the *Delpick* Laurel shade their Brows,
 Or chant they rather *Bacchanalian* Hymns?
 Then wou'd their Temples be with Ivy wreath'd,
 Whence are ye, Strangers? speak: the Truth declare.
 Declare, O Friends, what Deity ye worship.
Cho. But who art thou, that mak'st us this Demand?
 Thou too, as from thy Crutch may be infer'd,
 And hobbling Pace, thou art a Votary
 Of the Invincible Divinity.

Ocyp. I am; nor am unworthy of the Name.

Chorus. When *Cyprian*⁷ *Venus*, Queen of Love,
 In pearly Dews fell from above,
Nereus amafs'd her scatter'd Frame,
 And form'd the fair-proportion'd Dame.

Faſt by the Fountains of the Deep,
 Where on their Owze the Surges ſleep,
 On her broad Boſom *Tethys* laid
 The Partner of *Jove's* Regal Bed.

⁷ *Venus* is ſaid to have been born of the Froth of the Sea.

Minerva, Virgin bold and wife,
From the great Monarch of the Skies,
Saturnian Jove, her Birth receiv'd,
In his immortal Brain conceiv'd.

But old ³*Ophion*, hoary God,
Our Goddess first embrac'd;
First in his fond Paternal Arms
The mighty Infant plac'd.

What Time primæval Chaos ceas'd,
And Night eternal fled;
Bright rose the Morning, and the Sun
His new-born Radiance shed.

Then from the Womb of Fate sprung forth
The Gout's tremendous Pow'r,
Heav'n with portentous Thunders rung,
And hail'd her natal Hour.

Clotbo receiv'd and swath'd the Babe,
Thence at the streaming Breast
Of Wealth by soft'ning *Plutus* fed,
Her awfull Force increas'd.

³ *Ophion*, a God older than *Saturn* the Father of *Jupiter*.

Ocyph. Say by what Rites mysterious to her Altar
Doth the dread Pow'r her Votaries admit?

Chor. ⁹ Nor with the biting Steel ourselves we wound,
Or sprinkle with our Blood the hallow'd Ground;
Nor are our Necks with galling Collars worn;
Or livid Backs with fouding Scourges torn:
Nor at the Altar, when the Victim dies,
Gorge we the raw and bleeding Sacrifice:
But when the Spring the rising Sap impells,
And the young Elm with genial Moisture swells,
When in the Hedges on the budding Spray
The Blackbird modulates her various Lay:
Then unperceiv'd she drives her piercing Dart,
And wounds the inmost Sense with secret Smart;
The Hip, the nervous Thigh, the Ankles swell,
The bending Knee, and firm supporting-Heel:
The strong-knit Shoulder and the finewy Arm,
And Hand mechanick feel th' intestine Harm,
Thro' ev'ry Joint the thrilling Anguish pours,
And gnaws, and burns, and tortures, and devours;
Till Length of Suff'ring the dire Pow'r appease,
And the fierce Torments at her bidding cease.

⁹ The *Chorus* hear allude to several Religious Ceremonies performed by several Priests to their Gods. The Scripture mentions the Priests of *Baal* cutting and flaying themselves with Knives, &c.

Olymp. Unwetting then her Votary am I:

Thou, Goddess, gentle and benign, approach!
And I, with these thy Vo'ries, will begin
Thy sacred, solemn, customary Song.

[*Dance.*]

Chorus. Thou Air, be still, thou, Sky, serene;

Thy Groans, thou, gouty Wretch, forbear,
Propt on her Staff, behold the Queen
Deigns at our Altars to appear!

[*The Goddess of the Gout descends or enters.*]

Chorus. Hail! gentlest of the heav'nly Pow'rs!

Propitious on thy Servants smile!
And grant in Spring's fermenting Hours
A quick Deliv'rance from our Toil.

Godd. Lives there on Earth to whom I am unknown,

Unconquerable Queen of mighty Woes?
Whom nor the fuming Censer can appease,
Nor Victim's Blood on blazing Altars pour'd.
Me not *Apollo's* Self with all his Drugs,
High Heav'n's divine Physician, can subdue;
Nor his learn'd Son, wife *Aesculapius*.
Yet ever since the Race of Man begun,
All have essay'd my Fury to repel,
Racking th' Invention of still-baffled Physick.

I

Some

Some this Receipt 'gainst me, some that explore.
 Plantane they bruise, the Parsley's odorous Herb,
 The lenient Lettice, and the Purslain wild.
 These bitter Horehound, and the watry Plant
 That on the verdant Banks of Rivers grows;
 Those Nettles crush, and Comfrey's viscid Root,
 And pluck the Lentils in the standing Pools.
 Some Parsnips, some the glossy Leaf apply
 That shades the downy Peach, benumbing Henbane,
 The Poppies soothing Gum, th' emollient Bulb,
 Rind of the *Pumick* Apple, Fleawort hot,
 The costly Frankincense, and searcking Root
 Of potent Hellebore, soft Fenugreek
 Temper'd with Rofy Wine, Collamphacum,
 Nitre and Spawn of Frogs, the Cypress-Cone,
 And Meal of bearded Barley, and the Leaf
 Of Colworts unprepar'd, and Ointments made
 Of pickl'd Garus, and (O vain Conceit!)
 The Dung of Mountain-Goats, and human Ordure,
 The Flow'r of Beans, and hot Sarcophagus.
 The pois'nous ¹⁰Ruddock some, and Shrew-Mouse boil,
 The Weasel some, the Frog, the Lizard green,
 The fell Hyæna, and the wily Fox,

¹⁰ Ruddock is a kind of red Land-Toad.

And

And branching ¹¹ Stone-buck bearded like a Goat.

What kind of Metals have ye left untry'd?

What Juice? what weeping Tree's medic'nal Tear?

What Beasts? what Animals have not bestow'd

Their Bones, or Nerves, or Hides, or Blood, or Marrow,

Or Milk, or Fat, or Excrement, or Urine?

The Draught of Four Ingredients some compose,

Some Eight, but more from Seven expect Relief;

Some from the purging Hiera seek their Cure,

On mystick Verses vainly some depend;

The tricking *Jew* gulls other Fools with Charms;

While to the cooling Fountains others fly,

And in the crystal Current seek for Health.

But to all these fell Anguish I denounce,

To all who tempt me ever more severe.

But they who patiently my Visit take,

Nor seek to combat me with Anodynes,

Still find me gentle and benevolent.

For in my Rites who'er participates,

His Tongue with Eloquence I straight endow,

And teach him with facetious Wit to please,

A merry, gay, jocosé Companion boon:

Round whom the noisy Croud incessant laugh,

¹¹ The Stone-buck is a Beast with shaggy Hair and a Beard like a Goat, but otherwise like a Stag.

As to the Baths the crippled Wretch is borne.
For that dire ¹² *Até*, of whom *Homer* sings,
That dreaded pow'rfull Deity am I:
Who on the Heads of Men insulting tread,
And silent, soft, and unobserv'd approach.
But as from me the acid Drop descends,
The Drop of Anguish, I the Gout am call'd.
Now then, my Vo'ries all, my Orgies sing,
And praise with Hymns th' unconquerable Goddess.

Chorus. Hear stubborn Virgin, fierce and strong,
Impracticable Maid!
O listen to our holy Song!
And grant thy Servants Aid!

Thy Pow'r, imperious Dame, dismays
The Monarch of the Dead,
And strikes the Ruler of the Seas,
And thund'ring *Jove* with Dread.

Thee soft reposing Beds delight
And Flannels warm Embrace,
And bandag'd Legs nor swift in Flight,
Nor Victors in the Race.

¹² *Até*, see *Homer's Iliad*, B. xix. towards the Beginning.

Thy Flames the tumid Ankle feel,
The Finger maim'd, the burning Heel,
And Toe that dreads the Ground.
Thy Pains unclos'd our Eyelids keep,
Or grant at best tumultuous Sleep
And Slumbers never found.

Thy Cramps our Limbs distort,
Thy Knots our Joints invade:
Such is thy cruel Sport!
Inexorable Maid!

Enter Messenger with two Mountebanks bound.

Mef. O! Mistrefs, opportunely art thou met.
Attend; no vain or idle Tale I bring,
But well fupported by authentick Facts.
As thro' the Town (for fo thou didst enjoin)
With flow and gentle Pace I lately rang'd,
Searching if haply I might chance to find
A Mortal bold enough to brave thy Pow'r;
There quiet all, and patient I beheld,
Subdu'd, O Goddefs, by thy mighty Arm.
All but thefe two presumptuous daring Wretches,
Who to the gaping Crowd with Oaths deny'd
To pay due Reverence to thy Deity,

I i 2

Boasting

Boasting that they wou'd banish thee from Earth:
Wherefore with Fetters strong their Legs I bound,
And after five Days March have brought them hither,
A weary March of twice Five hundred Feet.

Godd. Swift hast thou come, my winged Messenger,
Say, from what Regions, thro' what rugged Paths,
Hast thou thy tedious longsome Way pursu'd?
Explain, that I may comprehend thy Speed?

Meſ. Five Stairs, whose weak and dislocated Frame
Trembled beneath my Tread, descending down,
First to the level Pavement I arriv'd,
That 'gainst my Feet its jarring Surface turn'd;
Which having with uneasy Footsteps cross'd,
I enter'd next the rough and flinty Street,
Whose pointed Stones the Gouty Foot abhors:
Here meeting with a smooth, tho' slippery Path,
I hurried on, but with back-sliding Haste,
The trodden Slime my tottering Ankle turn'd.
Thus as I journey'd, down on ev'ry Side
The streaming Sweat descended, and my Legs
Faint and relax'd no longer firmly trod.
Thence lab'ring in each Limb, and overtoil'd,
A broad, but dang'rous Way receiv'd me next:
For on each Hand the whirling Chariots flew,
And urg'd, and press'd, and drove me faster on:

1

But

But I with nimble Action ply'd my Feet,
And quick into an Alley stept aside,
Till ev'ry rattling hasty Wheel was pass'd.

For, as to thee, O Goddess, I belong'd,

Thy Votary, I ought not, cou'd not run.

Godd. Servant, thou hast not well perform'd in vain,

Nor shall thy prompt Obedience want Reward.

In Recompence this pleasing Boon receive,

Three Years of light and gentler Pains to bear.

But ye, most impious Heav'n-abandon'd Villains,

What and whence are ye, that so proudly dare

The Lifts to enter with the mighty Gout,

Whose Pow'r not *Jove* himself can overcome?

Speak, Wretches—Many a Hero have I tam'd,

As all the wife and learn'd can testify.

¹³ *Priam* was gouty, as old Poets sing,

And by the Gout the swift *Achilles* fell.

Bellerophon, and *Thebes*' unhappy Lord,

The mighty *Oedipus*, my Prowess own'd,

And, of maim'd *Pelops*' Race, young *Plisibenes*.

¹³ *Priam* was gouty, &c.] *Lucian* had of *Philetes*, which he got by the fall of this Circumstance from some secret Histories that are not come down to us; or possibly there may be some Conceit which we do not understand, since one cannot help thinking that he alludes to the Lameness

He too, who led to *Troy* his warriour Bands,
 The halting Son of *Peas*, felt my Dart,
 And by my Dart the ¹⁴ Lord of *Ithaca*,
 Not by the pois'nous Trygon's Bone expir'd.
 Wherefore, ill-fated Wretches, be assur'd,
 Your wicked Deeds shall meet their due Reward.

^{1st} *Mo. Syrians* we are, in fair *Damascus* born,
 But urg'd by Want and hungry Poverty,
 O'er Earth and Sea like Vagabonds we roam,
 And with this Ointment, which our Father gave,
 We comfort and relieve the Sick and Lame.

Godd. What is your Ointment, say, and how prepar'd?

^{2^d} *Mo.* We dare not tell, to Secrecy oblig'd
 Both by the solemn Oath of our Profession,
 And last Injunctions of a dying Father;
 Who charg'd us to conceal the pow'rfull Virtue
 Of this our Med'cine, whose strong Efficacy,
 O Gout, can e'en thy madding Fires allay.

Godd. Ha! miserable Wretches, say ye so?

Is there on Earth a Med'cine, whose Effect
 My Pow'r is not sufficient to controul?
 Come on, upon this Issue let us join.

¹⁴ *Telegonus*, the Son of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, fortunately flew his Father *Ulysses* with a coming to *Ithaca* to see his Father, was Spear or Arrow, pointed with the Bone of denied Entrance by the Servants; upon a Trygon, a poisonous Fish. which a Quarrel ensued, in which he un-

Let

Let us experience now the Prevalence
Of your strong Med'cine o'er my raging Flames.
Hither, tormenting Spirits, who preside
O'er my distracting Sorrows, hither come.

Spirits descend.

Godd. Thou from the tender Sole to ev'ry Toe
Round all the Foot the burning Anguish spread.
Thou in the Heel shalt settle from the Thigh,
Thou on the Knee shalt pour the bitter Drop.
And each of you a Finger shall torment.

Spi. Behold, O Queen, thy Orders are perform'd.
See! where the Wretches main'd and roaring lie,
Their Limbs distorted with our fierce Attack.

Godd. Now, Friends, inform us of the Truth; declare
If ought your boasted Ointment now avail.
For if my Forces it indeed subdue,
Far, to the dark Recefles of the Earth,
The Depths profound of *Tartarus* I'll fly,
Henceforth unknown, unhonour'd, and unseen.

1st Mo. Behold the Ointment is apply'd! but, oh!
The Flames relent not. Oh! I faint, I die!
A secret Poison all my Leg consumes.
Not so pernicious is the Bolt of *Jove*:
Nor rages so the wild tempestuous Sea:

Nor

Nor more restless is the Lightning's Blast.

Sure three-mouth'd *Cerberus* my Sinews gnaws:

Or on my Flesh some pois'nous Viper preys;

Or to my Limbs th' envenom'd ¹⁵ Mantle clings,

Drench'd in the Centaur's black malignant Gore!

O Queen, have Mercy! freely we acknowledge

That, nor our Ointment, nor ought else on Earth,

Thy unresisted Fury can restrain,

O mighty Conquerers of human Kind!

Ocyp. "I too, O potent Goddess, Grace implore.

"Once in the wanton Pride of vig'rous Youth,

"Vain of my beauteous Limbs, and active Strength,

"I mock'd thy Dolours, and thy Pow'r defy'd.

"But now chastis'd by thy afflictive Arm,

"And by thy nearer Influence subdu'd,

"My impious Vaunts, O Goddess, I retract,

"Adore thy Might, and deprecate thy Wrath."

Godd. Spirits, forbear, and mitigate their Woes.

See they repent 'em of the dire Contention.

¹⁵ The Mantle of the Centaur *Nessus*, who having profered *Hercules* his Service to carry his Wife over the River *Evenus*, when he had her on the other Side would have forced her. Whereupon *Hercules* shot him with an Arrow. *Nessus*, seeing he must die, in Revenge presents *Deianira*

with his Mantle stain'd with his own Blood, telling her it was a Charm for Love. She believing this, when *Hercules* was sacrificing in Mount *Oeta*, sent him this Mantle to put on, which he no sooner did, but the Poison work'd so strongly that he grew mad, and threw himself into the Fire.

OF THE GOVT.

255

Now let the World confess my stubborn Pow'r,
Nor mov'd by Pity, nor by Drugs subdu'd.

Goddess and Spirits re-ascend.]

Cho. In vain with mimic Flames ¹⁶*Salmoneus* strove
To emulate the Bolts of thund'ring *Jove*;
To deepest Hell with scorching Light'ning driv'n,
Too late he own'd the stronger Pow'r of Heav'n.

The Satyr ¹⁷*Marsyas* blew his boastfull Reed,
And, *Phæbus*, strike, he cry'd, thy rival Strings,
Stript of his Skin he mourns the impious Deed,
While round the bleeding Trophy *Pythius* sings.

Robb'd of her Children, in eternal Woe,
In Streams eternal while her Sorrows flow,
Sad ¹⁸*Niobe* laments the fatal Hour,
That urg'd her to provoke *Latona's* Pow'r.

¹⁶ *Salmoneus*, in Imitation of Thunder, caused a brazen Bridge to be built, over which he drove his Chariot, and for Lightning threw flaming Torches; but for this Impiety was struck dead with real Lightning.

¹⁷ *Marsyas* having challenged *Apollo* to a Trial of Skill, was by him slay'd alive.

¹⁸ *Niobe* had six, some say seven Sons,

and as many Daughters, all of whom were slain by *Apollo* and *Diana*, as a Punishment for the Pride of their Mother, who had presumed to compare herself with the Goddess *Latona*, and even to insult her, because she had not so large an Offspring as herself. *Niobe* was turned into a Stone, that always weeps.

K k.

Thee.

Thee, *Pallas*, kill'd in ev'ry Work divine,
 Foolish ¹⁹ *Arachne* at the Loom defy'd;
 Incessant thence she draws the filmy Twine,
 Memorial of her fond presumptuous Pride.

Taught by the Veng'ance of the Gods above,
Latona, Pallas, Pythian Phoebus, Jove,
 To Mortals be this sage Instruction giv'n,
 "That Man, tho' bold, is not a Match for Heav'n."

[Dance.]

Cho. O awfull Gout, whose universal Sway
 The trembling Nations of the Earth obey,
 Our Torments, gracious Sov'reign, O assuage!
 Be short our Pangs, be moderate thy Rage!

Many, various are the Woes
 That this Scene of Life compose.
 Use with reconciling Balm
 Can our throbbing Sorrows calm;
 Can our sharpest Pains beguile,
 And bid Gouty Wretches smile.
 Hence, Companions of my Care,
 Learn with patient Hearts to bear,
 To expect with Souls unmov'd
 Ills, ye have already prov'd.

¹⁹ *Arachne* was turned into a Spider.

OF THE GOUT.

257

If feverer Woes invade,
Heav'n will grant ye Strength and Aid.
Who, impatient of his Pain,
Bites, and gnaws, and shakes the Chain,
Laughter he, and Scorn shall move.
Such is the Decree of *Jove*.



TRANSLA-

172

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TRANSLATIONS

FROM THE

ARGONAUTICKS

OF

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

АБОГГОМИНС КНОДИНС

О И

СКОТТУАМОДРА

БРОМ ЛНЕ

СМОТЛАДИАЯТ

Song of Orpheus,

AND THE

Setting out of the Argo.

THEN too the 'jarring Heroes to compose
 Th' enchanting Bard, *Oeagrian Orpheus* rose,
 And thus, attuning to the trembling Strings:
 His soothing Voice, of Harmony he sings.

In the Beginning how Heav'n, Earth, and Sea
 In one tumultuous Chaos blended lay;
 Till Nature parted the conflicting Foes,
 And beauteous Order from Disorder rose:
 How roll'd incessant o'er th' etherial Plain
 Move in eternal Dance the Starry Train;

* The Names of these Heroes were *Idmon* and *Idas*, two of the *Argonauts*, the latter of whom having been reprimanded by the former for speaking too presumptuously and arrogantly of himself, and too disrespectfully of the Gods, being heard

with Wine, of which he had drunk a large Quantity, fell into a great Rage, and from Reproaches and Threats was going to proceed to Blows, had he not been restrained by the rest of the *Argonauts* and their Leader *Jason*. *Then Orpheus rose*, &c.

How

How the pale Orb of Night, and golden Sun,
Thro' Months and Years their radiant Journeys run;
Whence rose the Mountains clad with waving Woods,
The rushing Rivers, and resounding Floods,
With all their Nymphs; from what celestial Seed
The various Tribes of Animals proceed.

Next how *Opbion* held his ancient Reign,
With his fam'd Consort, Daughter of the Main:
On high *Olympus'* snowy Head enthron'd,
The new-created World their Empire own'd:
Till Force superior, and successless War
Divested of their Crowns the regal Pair;
On *Saturn's* Head *Opbion's* Honours plac'd,
And with his Consort's Glories *Rhea* grac'd.
Thence to old Ocean's watry Kingdoms hurl'd
Thus they resign'd the Scepter of the World:
And *Saturn* rul'd the blest *Titanian* Gods,
While Infant *Jove* possess'd the dark Abodes.
Of *Diète's* Cave; his Mind yet uninform'd
With heav'nly Wisdom, and his Hand unarm'd:
Forg'd by the *Cyclops*, Earth's Gigantick Race,
Flam'd not as yet the Lightning's scorching Blaze,
Nor roar'd the Thunder thro' the Realms above,
The Strength and Glory of Almighty *Jove*.

This said, the tunefull Bard his Lyre unstrung,
 And ceas'd th'enchanted Musick of his Tongue.
 But with the Sound entranc'd th' attentive Ear
 Thought him still singing, still stood fix'd to hear.
 In silent Rapture ev'ry Chief remains,
 And feels within his Heart the thrilling Strains.
 Forthwith the Bowl they crown with rosy Wine,
 And pay due Honours to the Pow'r divine.
 The pure Libations on the Fire they pour,
 While rising Flames the * mystick Tongues devour.

Now fable Night ascends her starry Throne,
 And *Argo's* Chiefs her drowsy Influence own.
 But when the bright-ey'd Morning rear'd her Head,
 And look'd o'er *Pelion's* Summits ting'd with Red;
 Light skimm'd the Breezes o'er the watry Plain,
 And gently swell'd the fluctuating Main.
 Then ²*Tiphys* rose, and summon'd by his Care
 Embark the Heroes, and their Oars prepare.

Portentous now along the winding Shores
 Hoarse-sounding *Pagaſean Neptune* roars.
 Impatient *Argo* the glad Signal took,
 While from her vocal Keel loud Murmurs broke;

* It was the Custom of the Ancients at times to *Mercury*, pouring on them a Libation of Wine.
 2 *Tiphys* was the Pilot of the *Argo*.

Her Keel of sacred Oak divinely wrought
Ionian Pallas from *Dodona* brought.

On their allotted Posts now rang'd along
 In seemly Order sat the princely Throng:
 Fast by each Chief his glittering Armour flames;
 The midmost Station bold *Arcæus* claims,
 With great *Alcides*, whose enormous Might
 Arm'd with a massy Club provokes the Fight,
 Now plac'd beside him: in the yielding Flood
 The Keel deep-sinking feels the Demi-God.

Their Haufers now they loose, and on the Brine
 To *Neptune* pour the consecrated Wine.
 Then from his native Shores sad *Jason* turns
 His oft-reverted Eye, and silent mourns.
 As in *Ortygia*, or the *Delphick* Fane,
 Or where *Ismenus* laves *Bœotia's* Plain,
Apollo's Altars round, the youthfull Choir,
 The Dance according with the sounding Lyre,
 The hallow'd Ground with equal Cadence beat,
 And move in Measure their harmonious Feet;
 Together so *Thessalia's* Princes sweep
 With well-tim'd Oars the silver-curling Deep.
 While, raising high the *Thracian* Harp, presides
 Melodious *Orpheus* and the Movement guides.

On

On either Side the dashing Surges broke,
And fierce remurmur'd to each mighty Stroke;
Thick Ash the brazen Arms with streaming Light,
While the swift Bark pursues her rapid Flight,
And ever as the Sea-green Tide she cleaves,
Foams the long Track behind, and whitens all the Waves:
So shines the Path, across some verdant Plain
Trac'd by the Footsteps of the Village Swain.

Jove on that Day from his celestial Throne,
And all th' immortal Pow'rs of Heav'n look'd down,
The Godlike Chiefs and *Argo* to survey
As thro' the Deep they urg'd their daring Way.
Then too on *Pelion's* cloud-top'd Summits stood
The Nymphs and Fauns and Sisters of the Wood,
With Wonder viewing the tall Pine below,
That shaded once the Mountain's shaggy Brow,
Now fram'd by *Pallas* o'er the founding Sea
Thessalia's mighty Heroes to convey.
But, lo! from *Pelion's* highest Cliff descends,
And downward to the Sea his Footsteps bends
The Centaur *Chiron*; on the Beach he stood
And dip'd his Fetlocks in the hoary Flood.
Then waving his broad Hand, the Bark he hales,
And speeds with prosperous Vows the parting Sails.

266 TRANSLATIONS FROM

With him advanc'd his Confort to the Shore;
The young *Achilles* in her Arms she bore:
Then raising high in Air the pleasing Load,
To his fond ³ Sire the smiling Infant shew'd.

³ *Peleus*, the Father of *Achilles*, was one Reader that the Centaur *Chiron* was the
of the *Argonauts*; and I need not tell the Tutor of *Achilles*.



The

The Story of Phineus.

THE following Day *Bithynia's* Coast they reach,
 And fix their Haufers to the fhelt'ring Beach.
 There on the Margin of the beating Flood
 The mournful Manfion of fad *Phineus* flood,
Agenor's Son; whom Heav'n ordain'd to bear
 The grievous Burden of unequal'd Care.
 For taught by wife *Apollo* to defcry
 Th' unborn Events of dark Futurity,
 Vain of his Science the prefumptuous Seer
 Deign'd not *Jove's* awfull Secrets to revere;
 But wantonly divulg'd to frail Mankind
 The facred Purpofe of th' omnifcient Mind.
 Hence *Jove* indignant gave him length of Days,
 But quench'd in endless Shade his vifual Rays.
 Nor wou'd the vengefull God permit him tafte
 The chearful Bleffings of the genial Feaft;
 Tho' the large Tribute of the Nations round
 Their Prophet's Board with Wealth and Plenty crown'd.
 For, lo! descending fudden from the Sky,
 Round the pil'd Banquet fhrieking Harpies fly,
 Who

Who with rapacious Claws incessant tear
 Forth from his famish'd Lips th' untasted Fare.
 Yet wou'd some slender Pittance oft remain,
 What might suffice to keep up Life and Pain.
 But then such Odours the foul Scraps exhal'd,
 That with the Stench the loathing Stomach fail'd.
 Aloof the hungry Guests and wondring stood
 While their sick Hearts abhor'd the putrid Food.

But now the princely Crew approaching near,
 The welcome Sound invades the Prophet's Ear.
 Taught by th' inspiring God that now was come
 The long-wish'd Period of Heav'n's vengefull Doom,
 That by these Heroe's destin'd Aid restor'd,
 Peace shou'd thenceforward blest his feastfull Board.
 Then heaves he from the Couch his haggard Head,
 Like some pale, lifeless, visionary Shade,
 And leaning on his Staff with fault'ring Steps,
 Along the Walls his Way exploring creeps.
 Diseas'd, enfeebled, and by Age unbrac'd,
 Trembled his tott'ring Limbs as forth he pass'd.
 Shrunk was his Form, adust with Want and Care,
 And bursting thro' his Hide the pointed Bones appear.
 But faint and breathless as he reach'd the Gate,
 Down on the Threshold over-toil'd he fate.

In

In dizzy Fumes invol'd his Brain runs round,
And swims beneath his Feet the solid Ground.
No more their Functions the frail Senses keep,
And speechless sinks the Seer in death-like Sleep.

This saw the Chiefs amaz'd, and gather'd round;
When from his labouring Lungs a hollow Sound,
With Breath and Ut'rance scarce recover'd broke,
And thus th' enlighten'd Seer prophetick spoke:

“ Princes of *Greece*, attend; if ye be they
Whom o'er the Main *Thessalia's* Pines convey,
And *Jason* leads to *Colchos'* magick Land,
Such is your cruel Tyrant's stern Command.
Yes, ye be they; for yet my mental Eye
Undim'd past, present, future, can descry
Thanks to thy Son, *Latona*, who bestows
This Grace, this only Solace of my Woes.
By *Jove*, to whom the Suppliant's Cause belongs,
Who hates the Merc'less, who avenges Wrongs,
By *Phœbus*, by *Saturnia* Wife of *Jove*,
By all the blest'd immortal Pow'rs above,
Who lead you o'er the Main with watchfull Care,
O help! O save from Famine and Despair
A Wretch ill-fated, to Affliction born,
Nor leave me here unpitied, and forlorn.

For

270 TRANSLATIONS FROM

For not these Orbs alone depriv'd of Sight
 Vindictive Heav'n hath veil'd in dolefull Night;
 But to extreme old Age his cruel Law
 Dóoms me th' unwasting Thread of Life to draw.
 Nor end my Sorrows here; a heavy Chain
 Of Woes succeeds, and Pain still link'd to Pain.
 From secret Haunts aerial, unexplor'd,
 Flights of devouring Harpies vex my Board.
 Swift, instantaneous, sudden they descend
 And from my Mouth the tastfull Morfel rend.
 Mean while my troubled Soul with Woes oppress'd,
 No Means of Aid, no Comfort can suggest.
 For when the Feast I purpose to prepare,
 They see that Purpose, and prevent my Care.
 But cloy'd and glutted with the luscious Spoil
 With noisome Ordure parting they defile
 Whate'er remains, if ought perchance remain,
 That none approaching may the Stench sustain,
 Tho' his strong Heart were wrapt in plated Mail,
 The filthy Fragments such dire Steams exhale:
 Yet me fell Hunger's all subduing Pain
 Compells reluctant, loathing to remain;
 Compells the deadly Odours to endure
 And gorge the craving Maw with Food impure.
 From these Invaders (so hath Fate decreed)
 By *Boreas*' Offspring shall my Board be freed.

Nor

Nor on a Stranger to your House and Blood,
O Sons of *Boreas*, is your Aid bestow'd.

Phineus behold, *Agenor's* hapless Son,
Once for prophetick Skill and Riches known;
Who, while I sway'd the *Thracian* Sceptre, led
Your dower'd Sister to my spousal Bed.
Here *Phineus* ceas'd, each pitying Hero groans,
But chief, O *Boreas*, thy relenting Sons
Feel kind Compassion swelling in their Souls,
While down their Cheeks the gen'rous Torrent rolls.
Then *Zetes* near approaching, closely press'd
His Hand, and thus the lab'ring Seer address'd:

O most disastrous of all human Kind,
Whence sprung the Evils that o'erwhelm'd thy Mind?
Hast thou, intrusted with the Book of Fate,
By Folly merited celestial Hate?
Hence falls this Indignation on thy Head?
Fain wou'd the Sons of *Boreas* grant thee Aid;
Fain wou'd they execute what Heav'n ordains,
But awfull Dread their willing Hands restrains.
To frighted Mortals well thy Suff'rings prove,
How fierce the Vengeance of the Gods above.
Then swear, or never shall this righteous Sword,
Tho' drawn for thy Deliverance, aid afford,

M m Swear,

272 TRANSLATIONS FROM

Swear, that th' Assistance which our Arms shall lend,
 Shall no immortal angry God offend.
 He spoke; when straight tow'rd Heav'n disclosing wide
 His sightless Balls, the Senior thus reply'd:

My Son, th' Injustice of thy Tongue restrain,
 Nor let such Thoughts thy pious Soul profane:
 By *Phœbus*, heav'nly Augur, who inspires
 My conscious Bosom with prophetick Fires;
 By this my wretched Lot of Woe and Care,
 These Eyes invol'd in dark'ning Clouds, I swear,
 By the fell Demons of the Realms below,
 Whom ever unpropitious may I know,
 From their Resentments not in Death secure,
 If falsely their dread Godheads I adjure:
 That your assisting Hands shall never move
 Wrath or Displeasure in the Pow'rs above.

Then acquiescing in the solemn Pray'r,
 To aid the Prophet *Boreas*' Sons prepare.
 The ready Youth a Banquet spread, the last
 That those fell Harpies were decreed to taste:
 Nigh stand the Brothers, ardent to oppose
 With glitt'ring Faulchions their invading Foes.
 But scarce the first sweet Morfel *Phineus* took,
 When from the Clouds with swift Prevention broke,

Swift

A P O L L O N I U S R H O D I U S. 273

Swift as the Light'ning's Glance, or stormy Blast
Whose rapid Fury lays the Forest waste,
Shrill clam'ring for their Prey the Birds obscene,
The watchfull Heroes shouting rush'd between;
But they with speediest Rage the Cates devour'd,
And round intolerable Odours pour'd;
Then o'er th' *Aegean* far away they flew;
Upspringing swift with threat'ning Blades pursue
The feather'd Chiefs. That Day *Saturnius* steel'd
Their vig'rous Nerves with Force untaught to yield;
And did not *Jove* their wearying Strength sustain,
Their flitting Pinions had they spread in vain:
For when to *Phineus* furious they repair,
Or quitting *Phineus* seek the Fields of Air,
The light-wing'd Monsters, fleetier than the Wind,
Leave the impetuous Zephyrs far behind.
As when the Hound experienc'd in the Chace,
Thro' some wide Forest o'er the scented Grass
A bounding Hind or horned Goat pursues,
And near his panting Prey and nearer views;
Eager he stretches the short Space to gain,
And snapping, grinds his gnashing Fangs in vain:
So ever-near th'insulting Chiefs pursu'd;
The Harpies so their catching Hands elude.
But now far off in the *Sicilian* Main,
By the wing'd Brothers, Sons of *Boreas*, slain,

The

The Race of Harpies (tho' Heav'n disallow'd)
 Had stain'd the *Ploian* Isles with sacred Blood;
 Their fore Distrels had *Iris* not survey'd,
 And darting from the Skies the Heroes staid.
 O Sons of *Boreas*, the dread Laws above
 Permit ye not to wound the *Dogs* of *Jove*.
 And, lo! my Oath I pledge, that never more
 Shall those fell *Dogs* approach *Bibynia's* Shore.
 This said, adjuring the tremendous Floods,
 Most fear'd, most honour'd by th'immortal Gods:
 By the slow-dripping Urn of *Styx* she swore,
 The Prophets peacefull Mansions evermore
 From those rapacious Spoilers shou'd be free;
 Such was the fatal Sisters' fixt Decree.
 The Goddesses sware, the Brothers straight obey,
 And back to *Argo* wing their airy Way.
 The ¹*Strophades* from thence derive their Name,
 The *Ploian* Islands sty'd by antient Fame.
 Then part the Harpies and *Thaumanian* Maid,
 In thousand various mingling Dyes array'd.
 These to the Grotts retir'd and dark Retreat
 Of *Dictæ's* Caverns in *Minoian Crete*.

¹ The Word *Strophades* is derived from because near them the Sons of *Boreas* left
 a *Greek* Verb, that signifies to turn; these off pursuing the Harpies, and turn'd back,
 Islands therefore were named *Strophades*, or return'd to the House of *Phineus*.

While

A P O L L O N I U S R H O D I U S. 275

While the gay Goddess of the watry Bow
Gain'd in a Moment high *Olympus*' Brow.

Mean while the Princess in the cleansing Wave
With purifying Rites the Senior lave.

Next from the Spoil, which on *Bybrycia*'s Shore
From vanquish'd *Amycus* stern *Pollux* tore,

A Victim they select with pious Care;

And soothe the Gods with Sacrifice and Pray'r.

Then in the Palace each heroick Guest

Partakes the Pleasures of the sumptuous Feast.

With them fate *Phineus*, and refresh'd his Soul

With sav'ry Viands and the chearing Bowl.

Unsatiated he feeds, and bathes in Streams

Of Extasy beyond the *Bliss of Dreams*.



The Hymn of ¹Cleanthes.

O UNDER various sacred Names ador'd!
 Divinity supreme! all-potent Lord!
 Author of Nature! whose unbounded Sway
 And Legislative Pow'r all Things obey!
 Majestick *Jove*! all hail! To Thee belong
 The suppliant Pray'r, and tributary Song:
 To Thee from all thy mortal Offspring due;
 From Thee we came, from Thee our Being drew;
 Whatever lives and moves, great Sire! is thine,
² Embodied Portions of the Soul divine.
 Therefore to Thee will I attune my String,
 And of thy wondrous Pow'r for ever sing.
 The wheeling Orbs, the wandering Fires above,
 That round this earthly Sphere incessant move,
 Through all this boundless World admit thy Sway,
 And roll spontaneous where thou point'st the Way.

¹ *Cleanthes*, the Author of this Hymn, was a Stoick Philosopher, a Disciple of *Zeno*. He wrote many Pieces, none of which are come down to us, but this and a few Fragments, which are printed by *H. Stephens*, in a Collection of Philosophical Poems. This Hymn was translated at the Request of a very learned and ingenious Friend of mine, who was pleased to find such just Sentiments of the Deity in a Heathen, and so much Poetry in a Philosopher.

² The original Reading was *ἡ γὰρ μέγιστα* *ἀρχὴ*, *Echus imitationem sortiti*, which not standing in the Verse, *Stephens* changed the Word *ἡ γὰρ* to *ὁ γὰρ*, which signifies a Vehicle, such as some of the Philosophers look'd upon the Body to be to the Soul, which they esteem'd to be a Portion of the Deity, the great Soul of the Universe. This Reading I have followed, not being able to make any Sense of the former.

Such

H Y M N O F C L E A N T H E S. 277

Such is the Awe imprest on Nature round
When through the Void thy dreadful Thunders found,
Thofe flaming Agents of thy matchlefs Pow'r:
Astonish'd Worlds hear, tremble, and adore.
Thus paramount to All, by All obey'd,
Ruling that Reason which thro' All convey'd
Informs this gen'ral Mafs, Thou reign'ft ador'd,
Supreme, unbounded, univerfal Lord.
For nor in Earth, nor earth-encircling Floods,
Nor yon æthereal Pole, the Seat of Gods,
Is ought perform'd without thy Aid divine;
Strength, Wisdom, Virtue, mighty *Joze*, are thine!
Vice is the Act of Man, by Paſſion toft,
And in the ſhorelefs Sea of Folly loſt.
But Thou, what Vice diſorders, canſt compoſe;
And profit by the Malice of thy Foes;
So blending Good with Evil, Fair with Foul,
As thence to model one harmonious Whole:
One univerfal Law of Truth and Right;
But wretched Mortals ſhun the heav'nly Light;
And, tho' to Blifs directing ſtill their Choice,
Hear not, or heed not Reason's ſacred Voice,
That common Guide ordain'd to point the Road
That leads obedient Man to ſolid Good.
Thence quitting Virtue's lovely Paths they rove,
As various Objects various Paſſions move.

Some

278 HYMN OF CLEANTHES.

Some thro' opposing Crowds and threatening War
Seek Pow'r's bright Throne, and Fame's triumphal Carr.
Some, bent on Wealth, pursue with endless Pain
Oppressive, fordid, and dishonest Gain:
While others, to soft Indolence resign'd,
Drown in corporeal Sweets th' immortal Mind.
But, O great Father, Thunder-ruling God!
Who in thick Darkness mak'st thy dread Abode!
Thou, from whose Bounty all good Gifts descend,
Do Thou from Ignorance Mankind defend!
The Clouds of Vice and Folly, O controul;
And shed the Beams of Wisdom on the Soul!
Those radiant Beams, by whose all-piercing Flame
Thy Justice rules this universal Frame.
That honour'd with a Portion of thy Light
We may essay thy Goodness to requite
With honorary Songs, and grateful Lays,
And hymn thy glorious Works with ceaseless Praise,
The proper Talk of Man: and sure to sing
Of Nature's Laws, and Nature's mighty King
Is Bliss supreme. Let Gods with Mortals join!
The Subject may transport a Breast divine.

MENEXENUS.

A

Dialogue of PLATO.

N^a

ОТДѢЛЪ ПО СЪЮЗНОМУ

СОВѢЩАНІЮ

М

M E N E X E N U S.

A

DIALOGUE of PLATO.

A R G U M E N T.

This Piece of Plato, though entitled a Dialogue, consists chiefly of an Oration, to which the Dialogue was intended to serve only for an Introduction or Vehicle; and is accordingly very short. The Subject of this Oration is the Commemoration of all those Athenians, who, from the Beginning of the Commonwealth to the Time of Plato, had died in the Service of their Country; a Subject that takes in so considerable a Portion of the History of Athens, that I rather chuse to refer the Reader to those Authors who have treated at large of the Transactions of that State, than to set down the several Events here alluded to, in Notes, which would soon swell to a bulk much larger than the Oration itself. It may not however be improper to premise a short Account of the Custom, which gave birth to this and many other Orations, spoken by some of the greatest Orators of Athens; as such an Account may tend to put the Reader into a proper Situation of Mind to judge of the Beauties and Blemishes of this famous Panegyrick, by leading him as it were to Athens, and making him one of the Audience. Take it therefore in the Words of Thucydides thus translated.

“ *In the same Winter [namely, in the first Year of the Peloponnesian*

“ *War] the Athenians, in obedience to the Laws of their Country,*

“ *performed, at the publick Expence, the Obsequies of those Citizens,*

N n 2

“ *who*

“ who first lost their Lives in this War : the Manner of which is as
 “ follows. Three Days before that appointed for the Funeral, they
 “ erect a Pavilion, underneath which they lay out the Bones of the
 “ Deceased, allowing to their respective Friends and Relations the Li-
 “ berty of bringing whatever they judge proper to add, by way of
 “ shewing their particular Concern or Regard for those who belonged
 “ to them. On the Day of the Interment there are brought in Wag-
 “ gons (or Horses) so many Chests (or Coffins) made of Cypress, one for
 “ every Tribe, in which are put the Bones of the Deceased, each Man
 “ according to his Tribe. Besides these there is an empty Bier, properly
 “ covered in Honour of those, whose Bodies could not be found and
 “ brought away in order for their Interment. In the funeral Procession
 “ whosoever is dispos’d, whether he be a Citizen or a Foreigner, has leave
 “ to march, together with the female Kindred of the Deceas’d, who assist
 “ at the Sepulchre, making great Lamentations. After this they deposite
 “ the Bones in the publick Cemetery, which is situated in the most beautifull
 “ Suburb of the City; and here they have always been accustomed to bury all
 “ who fall in Battle, those only excepted, who were slain at Marathon,
 “ to whom, as to Men of distinguished and uncommon Virtue, they per-
 “ formed their Obsequies in the very Place where they lost their Lives.
 “ As soon as the Remains are buried in the Ground, some Athenian,
 “ eminent as well for his Wisdom as his Dignity, is appointed by the
 “ State to pronounce a suitable Oration in honour of the Dead. After
 “ which the whole Company depart. This is the Manner, in which the
 “ Athenians perform the Funerals of those who are slain in Battle,
 “ and this Custom they constantly observe in every War, as often as the
 “ Case happens, in conformity to a Law enacted for that purpose.”

From this Account, and some other Particulars mentioned in the ensuing
 Oration, it is evident that these Publick Funerals were performed with
 great Pomp and Solemnity by the whole Body of the Athenian People ;
 to whom therefore, considered upon this Occasion under two Heads,
 namely, as Citizens of Athens, and as Relations and Friends of the
 Deceased, the Orator was in reason oblig’d to accommodate his Dis-
 course : which from hence he was under a necessity of dividing like-

wise

wise into two Heads. Under the first he was to apply himself to the Citizens of Athens in general; under the second, to the Parents, Children, and Kindred of the Deceased in particular. For the Topics proper to be insisted upon under these two Heads, he was left at liberty to select such as he judged most suitable to the Occasion on which he was to speak. The Occasion was solemn and mournfull. Consolatories therefore were to be administered as well to the Publick, as to Individuals, who were there come together to perform the last Offices to their Fellow-Citizens and Relations. To the Publick no Topic of Consolation could be so effectual as that, which, by setting before them the Glory and Advantages accruing to the Commonwealth from the Actions of those brave Citizens who had lost their Lives in the Service of their Country, tended to call off their Attention from the Calamity, which they were then assembled to commemorate. And this Topic was very naturally suggested to the Orator by the many publick Monuments erected in honour of those, who had fallen in Battle, and scattered up and down the Place where he was to pronounce his Oration. Plato accordingly made choice of this Topic; and hath dwelt upon it with equal Judgment and Eloquence through the greater part of the following Panegyrick. But while I commend his Eloquence and Judgment in managing this Subject, I think it necessary to profess that I cannot altogether approve of his Manner of introducing it. What he says about the Athenians springing originally out of the Earth, the very Land in which they dwelt, &c. is far-fetched, unphilosophical, and absurd; and can only be defended by the same kind of Plea with that made use of by Pausanias, a great Collector of popular Legends and Fables, in excuse of some Grecian Antiquaries: "They are not ignorant (says he) that many Things, which they relate, are far from being agreeable to Truth: they think themselves however obliged to relate them; since it is no easy matter to prevail upon the Multitude to admit "Opinions contrary to those which they have already received." The People of Athens were so seriously vain of this imaginary Original as to style themselves Αὐτόχθονες, that is, born of the Soil which they inhabited, and Τίτγες, Grasshoppers; which Insect was by them imagined

gined to be generated of the Earth. Accordingly some old Men among the Athenians, as we learn from Thucydides, were accustomed to wear upon their Heads the Figure of a Grasshopper in Gold; an emblematical Ornament denoting, according to the vulgar Opinion, their Earthly Original.

The remaining Part of this first Division contains an artfull and noble Panegyrick in honour of the State and People of Athens; which (some due Allowances being made to the Partiality of the Orator for his native Country) evidently proves, what indeed will appear to any one who attentively examines the Grecian History, that the Athenians were unquestionably the first and greatest People of Greece.

The second Part, in which the Orator addresses himself to the Relations of the Deceased, is as beautifull a Piece of Oratory, as is to be met with in all Antiquity. I shall not here forefall the Reader's Judgment or Pleasure by pointing out the particular Passages worthy of Admiration. They are so striking that he cannot fail taking notice of them; and the more they surprise, the more they will please. I shall only beg leave to inform him that it was principally for the sake of this latter Part that I translated the whole Oration, with a view of adding to the noble and rational Entertainments of a Person, whom I shall ever honour and lament, and whose admirable Judgment, and exquisite Taste, the genuine Product of Good-Sense, and a great and virtuous Mind, made her desirous of being acquainted with every thing that is excellent as well among the Ancients as the Moderns. I hope I shall be pardoned for taking occasion of paying this slight Tribute to her Memory, which is as dear to me, as her Loss is irreparable. Her Loss indeed is truly irreparable to all those, who knew her intimately, and would be insupportable, were it not for those Arguments of Consolation, which her equally admired Husband hath suggested in a Poem dedicated to her Memory: Arguments of Consolation infinitely superiour to any made use of by Plato in the ensuing Oration, and indeed to any that meer Philosophy is capable of producing.

Vid. Monody to the Memory of a Lady lately deceased, printed in 1747.

MENEXENUS.

MENEXENUS. A Dialogue of PLATO.

SOCRATES, MENEXENUS.

Soc. WHENCE come you, *Menexenus*? from the Forum?

Men. From the Forum, *Socrates*, and from the Senate-house. *Soc.* What particular Business called you to the Senate-

house? I suppose, most wonderfull young Man, that imagining yourself arrived to the highest Pitch of Learning and Philosophy, and every way sufficiently qualified, you are purposing to turn yourself to Affairs of greater Importance, and that we may never want a supply of Magistrates out of your Family, you yourself are thinking, young as you are, of governing us old Fellows. *Men.* Indeed, *Socrates*, I should

most readily entertain such an Ambition, encouraged by your Permission and Advice; but otherwise, I would by no means think of it. The Occasion of my going to the Senate-house to-day was the having heard that they intended to make choice of the Orator who is to speak the Funeral Oration in honour of Those, who were slain in the Service of their Country. For Preparations, you know, are now making to celebrate their Obsequies at the publick Expence.

Soc. Very true. Pray, whom have they chosen? *Men.* No body

as yet. They have adjourned that Consideration till to-morrow: but I suppose either *Dion* or *Archinus* will be appointed. *Soc.* Sure,

Menexenus, it must needs be a fine thing for a Man to die in Battle; for, be he ever so poor and inconsiderable, he will have the good Fortune at least to be buried with Pomp and Splendor, and to have his Praises set forth by wise and ingenious Men; not in crude and extemporary Panegyricks, but in Discourses well considered and prepared for a long time before. And indeed so magnificent, so copious, and even exuberant upon every Topick, and so beautifully variegated with fine Names and Words are the Panegyricks which our Orators give us upon these Occasions, that they as it were bewitch our Souls; and what with the Encomiums, which they so plentifully pour out

upon

upon the City, upon Those who have at any time died in Battle, upon the whole Series of our Ancestors, even to the remotest Ages, and what with those which they bestow upon the Audience, I myself, *Menexenus*, have often been animated with a generous Pride, and listening in a kind of Extasy to their Flatteries, have for the Time imagined myself grown greater, more noble, and more illustrious, and have fancied not only that I myself appeared more considerable in the Eyes of those Strangers, who at any time accompanied me upon those Occasions, but that they also were affected in the same Manner; and persuaded by the Orator to look upon me and *Athens* with more Admiration than before. And this Sense of my own Dignity and Importance hath often remained upon me for more than three Days. Nay, with so powerful a Charm hath the Discourse and even the Voice of the Speaker sunk into my Ears, that for four or five Days I have scarce been able to recollect myself, or know in what Part of the World I was; but imagined myself sometimes an Inhabitant of the *Fortunate Islands*. So dextrous are our Orators! *Men. Socrates,*

you are always rallying the Orators. However, I am afraid the Person they shall now pitch upon, will not come off so well; for as he will be appointed on a sudden, he will be necessitated to speak without any Preparation.

Soc. How so, my good Friend? This sort of People have Orations always ready prepared. Besides, it is no difficult matter to speak *extempore* upon such Topics. Was a Man required to celebrate the Praises of the *Athenians* in an Assembly of *Peloponnesians*, or of the *Peloponnesians* in an Assembly of *Athenians*, he must be an excellent Orator indeed to gain the Assent and Approbation of his Auditory. But when a Man is to perform before an Audience, whose Praises are the Subject of his Discourse, it seems to be no difficult Matter to make a good Speech. *Men.* Is that your Opinion,

Socrates? *Soc.* I protest it is. *Men.* Do you believe that you

yourself should be able to make a Speech, supposing the Senate should nominate you?

Soc. If I should, *Menexenus*, it would be no great Wonder, considering I have been instructed by a Mistress, who is so far from being contemptible in Rhetorick, that she hath made many

good

good Orators, one in particular who excelled all the *Greeks*, *Pericles* the Son of *Xanthippus*. *Men*. What Mistress do you speak of? I suppose you mean *Alpasia*. *Soc*. I mean Her, and *Connus* the Son of *Metrobius* also. For these Two are my Masters: He in Musick, She in Rhetorick. That a Man thus educated should be a good Speaker is not very surprizing, since it is not impossible even for a Scholar of *Lamprius* or *Antiphon*, who either for Musick or Rhetorick are much inferior to my Masters; I say, it is not impossible even for such an one to gain the good Opinion of the *Athenians*, when he makes their Praises the Theme of his Oration. *Men*. And pray what would you say, were you to speak? *Soc*. From my

¹ *Soc*. I mean Her and Connus — For these Two, were my Masters: He in Musick, and She in Rhetorick.] *Alpasia*, the Lady to whom *Socrates* gives the Honour of the ensuing Oration, as well as of that spoken formerly by *Pericles* on the like Occasion, was born at *Miletus*, and was indeed in great Favour with *Pericles*, as may be seen in *Plutarch*. What is here said of her having instructed *Pericles*, and many other good Orators besides *Socrates*, in Rhetorick, whether strictly true or not, shews at least that she had as great a Reputation for Wit, as for Beauty. But it appears from this Passage, that Rhetorick, which is the *Art of Composition*, was not, in the Opinion of the *Athenians*, alone sufficient to make a complete Orator; Musick, which, as far as it relates to Oratory, and whenever it is put in contradistinction to Rhetorick (as in this Passage) can only mean an harmonious Pronunciation, or a melodious Modulation of the Voice; Musick, I say, in the Sense now mentioned, was likewise deemed a Science necessary to be learnt by all, who intended to speak in publick. And hence I am confirmed in an Opinion, which I have entertained many Years, and in which I find I am not single, viz. That Accents were originally

For musical Notes set over Words to direct the several Tones and Inflections of the Voice requisite to give the whole Sentence its proper Harmony and Cadence. The Names of the Greek Accents, ἰσχύς, βαρεῖν, περιεργασίαι, acute, grave, and circumflex, speak their musical Origin, and correspond exactly to three Terms made use of in our modern Musick, namely, Sharp, Flat, and a Grace, called the Turn, consisting, like the Circumflex, of a sharp and a flat Note. I shall not here enter into the Question concerning the Antiquity of Accents, which many learned Men take to be of modern Invention; though if they were used for musical Marks, as I am persuaded they were, they were probably as ancient as the Application of that Science, from whence they were borrowed to form a right Pronunciation and harmonious Cadence; which was as ancient at least as the Time of *Plato*. It is no wonder, however, that many old Manuscripts and Inscriptions are found without Accents: As they were intended solely for the Instruction of those, who were desirous of reading and speaking properly, they were, in all likelihood, made use of only by Masters of Musick in the Lessons which they gave their Scholars upon Pronuncia-

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own Stock perhaps little or nothing. But yesterday I heard *Alpasha* pronounce a Funeral Oration upon the Subject of these very Persons; for she had just heard, what you tell me, that the *Athenians* were going to chuse an Orator for the Occasion: upon which she immediately ran over to me the Topics, that were proper to be insisted upon; and what she had formerly made use of, when she composed the Funeral Oration spoken by *Pericles*; out of the Scraps of which, I imagine, she patched up this Discourse. *Men.* Can you remember what she said? *Soc.* Else I should be much to blame, for she took the pains to teach it me herself; and refreshed my Memory with a few Boxes on the Ear, whenever I forgot any thing. *Men.* What

tion. Neither is it surprising that the ancient *Greeks* should descend to such minute Niceties in forming their Orators, when it is considered that Oratory, from its great Use and Importance in their public Assemblies, was in the highest Esteem among them, and carried by them to its utmost Perfection.

From what has been said I am induced to beg leave to make an Observation or two.

1. From not understanding, or not attending to the original and right Use of Accents in the *Greek*, however transmitted down to these Times, has arisen one of the grossest Perversions and Abuses, that Ignorance or Barbarism itself could possibly have introduced into any Language; and that is, Reading by Accent, as it is called, and practised in most of the Schools (*Eaton* excepted) and in the Universities of this Kingdom, not to say of all *Europe*. For by this Method of reading, in which no Regard is paid to the long or short Vowels or Diphthongs, the natural Quantity of the Words is overturned; and the Poets, who never wrote, and indeed are never read, and can never be read, by *Accent*, must be supposed to have measured the Language by a Rule different from that followed by the Writers and Speakers in

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Prose, that is, all the rest of their Countrymen; which indeed is an Absurdity too great to be supposed; and therefore, I imagine, it will not be pretended that the ancient *Greeks* spoke by Accent: if this therefore be an Absurdity too great to be charged upon the ancient *Greeks*, why should it be imposed upon those who now study that Language? and who, by this Method, are obliged, when they read Poetry, to neglect the Accent, and when they read Prose, to disregard the Quantity: which is to make two Languages of one. Much more might be said against this preposterous Usage of Accents; which seems to me to have arisen at first from the Ignorance and Idleness of School-masters, who not knowing the true Quantity of the Words, and not caring to acquaint themselves with it, took the short and easy Way of directing themselves and their Scholars by those *Marks* which they saw placed over certain Syllables. These they took for their Guides in reading Prose, though in Poetry, as has been said, they were necessitated to observe a different Rule, *viz.* the Measure of the Verse, where known, as that of *Hexameters*, *Iambicks*, *Anapaests*, &c. but in the great Variety of Measures made use of by *Pindar*

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then hinders your repeating it? *Sec.* Possibly my Mistress will be offended, if I make her Discourses publick. *Men.* Not in the least, I dare say: However, *Socrates*, oblige me so far as to speak what *Aspasia* said, if you please, or any thing else, no matter what, so you will but speak. *Sec.* But you will laugh at me perhaps for playing the Fool in my Old age. *Men.* Not at all, *Socrates*: Speak, I intreat you, by all means. *Sec.* Well: I find I must gratify you, though you should even order me to fall a dancing. Besides, we are alone. Attend then. She came directly to the Point, and began her Oration, as I remember, with mentioning the Deceased, in the following Manner:

Sec., and the Dramatick Writers, they were still at a loss, and therefore, in reading those Odes were obliged to have recourse to Accents, to the utter Subversion of all Quantity and Harmony. If it should be thought worth the while to correct this illiterate Abuse in our Schools and Seminaries of Learning, it may be proper either to print such Books, as are put into the Hands of young Beginners, without Accents, or to substitute in their stead such Marks as may serve to shew the Quantity of the several Syllables: to which end I would recommend to all future Compilers of Lexicons and Grammars, to mark, after the Example of many *Latin* Lexicographers, the Quantities of all the Syllables; many of which are reducible to general Rules, and others may be discovered and ascertained by carefully comparing the correspondent Measures of the Strophé, Antistrophé, Epode, &c. in the *Greek* Ode.

The second Observation I have to make shall be very short, because it has been made many Years ago, particularly by the learned and ingenious Authors of the *Spectators*. It is very surprising, that in this our Nation, so famed for Good Sense and Learning, and where Oratory is applied to such interesting and important

Subjects, as are treated of in Parliament, in the Courts of Justice, and in the Pulpit, so little, I had almost said, no Attention should be paid to the forming a proper, at least, if not a graceful Manner of Speaking in those who, either by their Birth and Fortune, or by their Profession, are destin'd to speak in publick. In *Greece* we see a just and harmonious Pronunciation was taught by professed Masters, and *Socrates* himself did not disdain to learn it. Why therefore should it not be taught at least in our great Schools and Universities, in which so many Noblemen and Gentlemen receive their Education? *Queen Anne*, as I have been informed, was taught to read and speak gracefully by *Mr. Betterton*; and methinks it would be no improper nor unprofitable Employment for an *Actor*, who had gained a Reputation for *speaking well*, to set up an Academy for teaching young Gentlemen to Read and Speak with Propriety and Grace. This Example, which I don't in the least doubt would meet with great Encouragement, might put others upon the like Design; and in Time furnish us with Masters in a Science, without which the best written Compositions, when read or spoken, lose all their Spirit and Grace, and appear languid and insipid.

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WHATEVER

WHAT EVER was requisite to be *done* for these brave Men, hath been performed on our Part: They have received their *Dues*, and are now proceeding on their *fated Journey*, dismissed with these publick Honours paid to them as well by the whole State, as by their own Families and Friends. But to make these Honours complete, something remains to be *said*; which not only the Laws require to be rendered to them, but Reason also. For an eloquent and well spoken Oration impresses on the Mind of the Audience a lasting Admiration of great and virtuous Actions. But the present Occasion demands an Oration of a particular kind; an Oration that may at one and the same time do Justice to the Dead; animate and soothe the Living; excite the Children and Brethren of the Deceased to an Imitation of their Virtues; and administer Comfort to the Fathers and the Mothers, and whoever of their remoter Ancestors are yet alive. And where shall we find an Orator equal to such a Task? or with what Topic shall we begin the Praises of those brave Men, who when living made their Friends happy by their Virtues, and with their Deaths purchased the Safety of all, who now survive?

As They were in some measure indebted to Nature for their Virtue, it is in my Opinion necessary to begin their Panegyrick with an Account of their Original: For that
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they were virtuous was owing to their being sprung of virtuous Ancestors. Let us then celebrate, in the first Place their noble Birth, in the second, their Nurture and Education; and afterwards, by exhibiting their Actions to view, make it appear that *these* also were virtuous, and such as corresponded to all those Advantages. First then, as to the Nobility of their Descent: They are sprung from a Race of Ancestors, not adventitious, not transplanted from I know not where, but *Natives of the Soil*, dwelling and living really and properly in their own Country; nursed, not like other Nations by a Step-mother, but a Parent, the very Land which they inhabited; in which they now lye buried; the Soil which bred, which nursed them, and which, as her own, has again received them into her Bosom. It is highly reasonable therefore to bestow some Encomiums on this Mother; and, the rather, because the Nobility of these her Children will at the same Time, and in the same Proportion, be illustrated and adorned. This Country indeed deserves to be celebrated by all Mankind, not only by us her Children, and that upon many accounts; but principally because she is a Favourite of Heaven, of which the Rivalry of the Gods, who contended for her, and the Decision that followed thereupon, is a clear Evidence. And how can any Mortal reasonably pretend to refuse Praise to that Country, which the Gods have vouchsafed to honour? An-
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other Topick of Panegyrick is this, That at the very Time when the Earth bred and produced Animals of all kinds both wild and tame, This Country of ours preserved her Purity; refused to bring forth savage Beasts; and among all Animals chose to produce Man only, who surpasses the rest in Understanding; and who alone hath instituted Laws for the Observation of Justice, and the Worship of the Gods. To confirm what I here advance, that this Earth is the genuine Parent of our Forefathers, I must observe, that every Thing that brings forth is provided with Nourishment for what it has produced; and that a Woman is proved to be really and in fact a Mother, from her being supplied with native Fountains of Nourishment for the Sustainance of the Child. The like substantial Evidence of her having brought forth Man, hath this our Country and Mother; for she alone at the same time, and she first produced the useful Grain of Wheat and Barley, the proper and the best Food of Man; so that it is evident she was the Parent of this Species of Animals; and to her these Proofs hold more strongly than to a Woman. For this great Mother did not most certainly in breeding and producing copy after her Daughters, but They after her: Neither did she grudge the World these her Fruits, but generously dispensed them to other Nations. For her Children she in the next place brought forth the Olive, the Support of Toil; and after she had thus nourished
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and reared them up to Manhood, she brought them Deities for their Governours and Instructors; whose Names it is unnecessary to mention in this Place. We all know who furnished us with the Necessaries and Securities of Life; who instructed us in the Arts requisite for our daily Support; who gave us, and who taught us the use of Arms, for the Defence of our Country. Our Ancestors thus born, and thus brought up, framed a Government, of which it may not be improper to speak a few Words. For Government is the Nurse of Men; a good one, of virtuous Men, a bad one, of wicked Men. That those who went before us were educated under a good Government, is necessary to shew; for indeed it was owing to the Advantage of being bred under a good Government that both they and their Descendants, the Fathers of the Deceased, became virtuous. The Form of Government then was, as it now is, an ²*Aristocracy*: Under this Form of Government we still live, and for the most part have done so from that Time to this. Let others call it a *Democracy*, or by what Name they please: It is in truth an *Aristocracy* founded on the Good-will of the People. We have always had Magistrates invested with kingly Power,

² *Aristocracy*, in its primary and original Signification, imports a Government we say of the State of *Venice*, that it is an lodged in the Hands of the *best*, i. e. the *Aristocracy*. *Plato* here takes it in the most virtuous Men, though, in the Sense first Sense; how properly I will not determine now commonly put upon it, it denotes a mine.

some of whom were hereditary, others elective: but the People were generally the most powerful, and they always bestowed the Authority and Power of the State upon those, whom they judged most worthy. No Man was excluded for the Meanness, the Obscurity, or the Poverty of his Family; nor advanced for the contrary Qualifications of his Ancestors, as is practised in other States. Their Choice was limited to one Point. Whoever was esteemed to be wise and good, he had the Authority, and he the Power. The Cause of this equal Government among us, was the Equality of our Original. For other States are composed of Men of every Country, and of different Extractions; whence their Governments are unequal; *Tyrannies* or *Oligarchies*; in which one Part of the People look upon the other as their Slaves, and They upon Them as their Masters. But we, who are all Brethren, born of one and the same Parent, disdain to be the Slaves or the Lords of one another. On the contrary, the natural Equality of our Births compelled us to seek after a legal Equality in our Government; and forbade us to yield any Subjection among ourselves, excepting only to the Wife and Virtuous. Hence it came to pass that all our Ancestors, the Fathers of the Deceased, and they themselves, being thus nobly born, thus nursed up in Liberty, exhibited in all their Conduct, as well private as publick, a number of great and glorious Actions for the Service of Mankind; thinking

thinking it their Duty as well to protect *Grecians* against *Grecians*, as to maintain the general Liberty of *Greece* against all foreign Invaders. How they repelled the Invasions of *Eumolpus*, of the *Amazons*, and of other Enemies before them, and in what manner they defended the *Argives* against the *Thebans*, and the *Heracleides* against the *Argives*; the Time will not permit me fully to relate: besides, their Virtues having been finely celebrated by the Poets in their melodious Songs, the World hath already been made acquainted with them; so that we should but disgrace ourselves in attempting the same Subjects in simple Prose. For these Reasons, therefore, I think proper to pass over these Matters. Justice hath been done to their Merits. But I think myself obliged to recall the Memory of those Exploits, which, worthy as they were, the Poets have not thought worthy of their Notice, and which are now almost buried in Oblivion; that by setting forth the Praises of the great Men who performed them, I may woo the Poets to admit them into their Songs and Verses. The chief of these are the Actions of our Forefathers, the Children of this Soil, who held the Hands of those Lords of *Asia*, the *Persians*, when they attempted to enslave *Europe*; whose Virtue therefore in the first place deserves to be commemorated, and to be praised. To give their Merits its proper Lustre, we ought to take a View of it in that Period of Time, when all

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Asia

Asia was in Subjection to the third King of the *Persian* Race. The first of these was *Cyrus*, who by his own great Abilities freed his Countrymen, the *Persians*, enslaved the *Medes* his Masters, and brought under his Dominion the rest of *Asia*, as far as *Aegypt*. His Son subdued *Aegypt*, and as much of *Libya* as was accessible, by his Arms. *Darius*, the third King, extended the Limits of his Empire by his Land Forces as far as *Scythia*, and by his Fleets made himself Master of the Sea, and of the Islands; insomuch that no one durst stand up in Opposition to him. The very Opinions of all Mankind seem to have been subdued: so many, so powerful, and so warlike were the Nations, which were bound to the *Persian* Yoke. This *Darius* accusing us and the *Eretrians* of an Attempt upon *Sardis*, made that a Pretence for sending an Army of Five hundred thousand Men on board his Ships and Transports, and a Fleet of Three hundred Sail, over which he appointed *Datis* to be General, ordering him, under the Forfeiture of his Head, to bring back the *Eretrians* and *Athenians* captive. *Datis* sailing to *Eretria*, against a Nation, which of all the *Greeks* had at that time the greatest Reputation for Valour, and was moreover very numerous, subdued them in three Days; and that none of them might escape, he took this Method of searching the whole Island. Causing his Troops to march to the utmost Limits of the *Eretrians*, and extend themselves

selves from Sea to Sea, he ordered them to join their Hands, and sweep the Country, that he might be able to assure the King, that not a Man had escaped him. With the like Design he passed from *Eretria* to *Marathon*, imagining he had nothing to do but to clap the same inevitable Yoke upon the Neck of the *Athenians*, and carry them off as he had done the *Eretrians*. During these Transactions, part of which were accomplished, and part yet in Execution, no Nation of the *Greeks* offered to stir to the Assistance either of the *Eretrians* or the *Athenians*, except the *Lacedaemonians*, and they did not join us till the Day after the Battle. The rest, struck with Terror, and preferring their present Safety, kept quiet at home. By this one may form a Judgment of the Bravery of those Men, who received the Attack of the Barbarians at *Marathon*, chastised the Arrogance of *Asia*, and were the first who erected Trophies for their Victory over a barbarous Enemy; by their Example instructing others that the Power of *Persia* was not invincible; and that Wealth and Numbers must yield to Virtue. I call these Men, therefore, not only our *natural*, but our *civil* Fathers also, the Fathers of our Liberty, and of the Liberty of all *Europe*. For the *Grecians*, surveying this Day's Work, were taught by their *Marathonian* Masters to hazard new Battles in the Defence of their Country. Upon these, therefore, ought we in reason to bestow the

first Palm, and give the second to them, who afterwards fought and conquered in the Sea-fights of *Salamis* and *Artemisium*. He, who would go over the several Actions of these brave Men, enumerate the many Difficulties they had to struggle with, both by Sea and Land, and tell how they surmounted them, would have much to say. But I shall only mention what appears to me to be the greatest Exploit after that of *Marathon*. For by that Victory the *Greeks* had been only taught, that upon Land it was possible for a small Number of *Grecians* to overcome a Multitude of Barbarians; but that at Sea they were able to effect the same thing, was not yet evident. The *Persians* had the Reputation of being invincible at Sea, by the Superiority of their Numbers, their Riches, their naval Skill, and Strength. Now what is most praise-worthy in those brave Men, who signalized themselves at Sea, is, that they did thereby, as it were, loosen those Bands of Terrour, which had held the *Grecians* so fast bound, and caused them no longer to stand in awe of Numbers, whether of Ships or Men. From these two Actions, this of *Salamis*, and that of *Marathon*, all *Greece* was instructed and accustomed not to be afraid of the Barbarians, either by Land or Sea. The third great Exploit for the Deliverance of *Greece*, as well in Order as in Degree, is the Action of *Plataea*; in the Glory of which the *Lacedaemonians* and *Athenians* had an equal Part. This great, this arduous

arduous Enterprize, was atchieved, I say, by these two Nations, and for this their Merit are they now celebrated by us, and will be by our Posterity to the latest Times. After this, many States of *Greece* still sided with the Barbarian, and the King himself was reported to have a Design of invading *Greece* once more. It would then be highly unjust not to take notice of those also, who compleated the Work of their Forefathers, and put the finishing Hand to our Deliverance, by scouring the Seas of every thing that had the Name of Barbarian, and driving them within their own Limits. These were they, who were engaged in the Naval Fight at *Eurymedon*, in the Expectations to *Cyprus*, to *Aegypt*, and many other Places. These ought we, therefore, to commemorate, and to acknowledge our Obligations to them, for having taught the *Great King* to fear; to attend to his own Safety, and not to be plotting the Overthrow of *Greece*. This War against the Barbarians did our Commonwealth, with her own Forces only, draw out to the very Dregs, for her own Security, and that of her Allies. Peace being made, and *Athens* being now in her highest Glory, there fell upon her, what is most commonly the Lot of the Successful, first a Rivalry in some other States of *Greece*, and from thence Jealousy, which drew her, tho' unwilling, into a War against *Grecians*: upon the breaking out of which War, the *Athenians* fought a Battle with the *Lacedemonians*.

nians at *Tanagra* for the Liberties of *Bœotia*. Tho' the Issue of this Battle was doubtfull, yet the following Action proved decisive: For some of the Allies of the *Bœotians* having deserted those, to whose Assistance they came, our Countrymen having on the third Day after obtained a Victory, we recovered to a Sense of their Duty those, who without Reason had fallen off from it. These brave Men having fought against *Grecians* for the Liberties of *Grecians*, and delivered those, whose Cause they had undertaken to defend, were the first after the *Persian* War, upon whom the Commonwealth conferred the Honour of being buried in this publick ³ Cemetery. After this the War became more general; all *Greece* fell upon us at once, and ravaged our Country, ill requiting the Favours they had received from this City. But the *Athenians* having defeated their Enemies in a Sea-fight, and taken Prisoners in the Island of *Sphaacteria* their Leaders the *Lacedæmonians*, when it was in their Power to have put them to Death, spared their Lives, forgave them, and made Peace with them; thinking, that altho' in a War against Barbarians nothing less than their utter Ruin

³ Cemetery.] The *Greek* Word is *μνηματιον*, *monimaton*, I thought it better to translate it *Monument*; but as it appears from *Pausanias*, that there were many different Monuments, each with its particular Inscription, erected in the *Ceramicus*, the Place destined for these publick Inter-Sepulchre.

Should

should be aimed at, yet that in a War between *Grecians* and *Grecians*, the Contest should be carried on as far as Victory indeed, but that the common Interest of *Greece* ought not to be sacrificed to any particular Resentment. Are not these brave Men, therefore, worthy to be praised, who were engaged in that War, and who now lie buried here? They, who made it appear, if indeed it was a Question whether in the first *Persian* War another Nation was not at least equal to the *Athenians*: they, I say, who made it appear that such a Question was entirely groundless. These Men made the Superiority of the *Athenians* sufficiently evident, by their coming off victorious in that War, in which all *Greece* took part against them, and fighting in Battle, with the Forces of *Athens* only, those who had set themselves up for the Chiefs of *Greece*, tho' they could pretend to no more than an equal Share with the *Athenians* in their Victories gained over the Barbarians. After the Peace arose another horrible and unexpected War, in which many brave Men fell, who here lie buried. Some of these erected many Trophies in *Sicily*; to which Country they had sailed in order to protect the *Leontines* in their Liberties, whom we were bound to assist by solemn Treaties. But before they could arrive, the Passage being long, the *Leontines* were reduced to Extremities, and disabled from yielding them any Assistance; for which Reason they gave over the

Attempt, and were unfortunate; tho' it must be owned, their Enemies, those against whom they came to fight, behaved with such Virtue and Moderation, that they deserved far greater Praise than some, who were only Confederates in that War. Others signalized themselves in the *Hellspont*, by taking all the Ships of the Enemy in one Day, and by several other Victories. I styled this a horrible and unexpected War, because some of the States of *Greece* carried their Enmity to this City so far, as to presume to send an Embassy to the King of *Persia*, *their* and *our* most inveterate Enemy, to invite, upon their own particular Views, that Barbarian into *Greece*, whom, for the common Cause, they had formerly joined with us to drive out of *Europe*; thus uniting in a League against *Athens* all the *Greeks* and Barbarians. Upon which Occasion the Strength and Valour of this State became most conspicuous. For our Enemies looking upon *Athens* as already vanquished, and having seized some of our Ships at *Mitylene*, These gallant Men (for so they confessedly were) whom we now commemorate, went to their Relief with sixty Sail, and boarding the Enemy's Ships, gained a Victory over them, and delivered their own Allies, but met with a Lot unworthy of their Valour; for their Bodies were not, as they ought to have been, taken up out of the Sea, but had their Burial there. And surely they deserve to be remembered ever with Praise and Honour.

For

For by their Valour we came off victorious, not in that Engagement only, but throughout the whole War; and through their Bravery was it that our Commonwealth gained the Reputation of being invincible, though attacked by the united Forces of all Mankind. Neither hath this Reputation been falsified in Fact. For we were conquered, not by our Enemies, but by our own Diffentions. As to Them we remain invincible even to this Day. But we have vanquished, have subdued ourselves. After these Transactions a Calm ensuing and a Peace betwixt us and all other Nations, a Civil War broke out, which was carried on in such a Manner, that, if by the Decrees of Heaven Diffentions must necessarily arise, a Man would pray that his Country might be so and no otherwise distempered. For how easily, how much like Friends and Fellow-Citizens, did the People of the *Piræus*, and those of the City, run into a Reconciliation with each other! and with how much Moderation did they lay aside their Hostility against those of *Eleusis*, contrary to the Expectations of all *Greece*! All which is to be ascribed to no other Cause than their Consanguinity, the natural Basis of firm and real Friendship. We ought not therefore to pass over in Silence even Those, who in this War were slain on either Side, but as far as in us lies endeavour to reconcile them to each other; praying and sacrificing upon these Occasions

to those Dæmons who have the Command and Direction over them, in as much as we ourselves are reconciled. For they did not attack each other out of Hatred and Malice, but from the Malignity of their Fortune. Of this we ourselves are living Evidences; who being of the same common Original with them, have forgiven each other, both what we did, and what we suffered. After this the City had Rest, and enjoyed a profound Peace, easily pardoning the Barbarians, who having been ill enough treated by this State, returned it but as they ought. But she could not help resenting the Behaviour of the *Greeks*, when she called to mind the Benefits they had received, and the Retribution they made, by uniting with the Barbarians, depriving us of our Ships, to which they formerly owed their own Deliverance, and pulling down our Walls, in Return for our having saved theirs from Ruin. The City then having taken the Resolution not to give for the future any Assistance to the *Greeks*, whether oppressed by *Grecians* or Barbarians, remained quiet: upon which the *Lacedæmonians*, imagining that *Athens*, the Patroness of Liberty, was fallen; and that now was the Time for them to pursue their proper Business, the enslaving of others, set immediately about it. I need not enlarge upon what followed. Those Transactions are neither of an ancient Date, nor perplexed by the Variety of Actors. We all know in what a Conspiration the chief States of *Greece*,
the

the *Argives*, the *Bæotians*, the *Corinthians*, applied to this City for Succour; and what was the greatest Miracle of all, that the King of *Persia* himself was reduced to such a strait, as to have no hopes of Safety from any other Quarter, than from this very City, whose Destruction he had so eagerly pursued. And, indeed, if *Athens* can be justly accused of any thing, it is of having been always too compassionate, too much inclined to salve the Wounds of the Afflicted. For at this very Time she was not able to persevere, and to keep to her Resolution, of not assisting Those in the Preservation of their Liberties, who had maliciously and designedly injured her. She yielded, she assisted them, and by that Assistance rescued them from Slavery, and gave them their Liberty, till they should think fit to enslave themselves again. She had not indeed the Assurance to act so preposterous a part as to send the King of *Persia* any Succours; she bore too great a Reverence to the Trophies of *Marathon*, of *Salamis*, and *Platæa*: yet by conniving at the Assistance given him by Fugitives, and such as voluntarily entered into his Service, she was confessedly the Cause of his Preservation. At this Time she repaired her Fortifications, and her Fleets, and prepared again for War; finding herself under the necessity of entering into one with the *Lacedæmonians*, for the Protection of the *Parians*. The King of *Persia*, on his Part, as soon as he saw the *Lacedæmo-*

nians had given over all Thoughts of carrying on a War by Sea, took Umbrage at the *Albenians*; and resolving to break the Peace, demanded those *Grecian* States, which were upon the Continent [of *Asia*] to be delivered up to him (those very States which the *Lacedaemonians* had formerly consented to give up) as the Condition of his continuing his Amity with us and our Allies. This Demand he did not imagine would be complied with, and he made it only that he might, upon its being rejected, have a fair Pretence for breaking the Treaty. But he was mistaken as to some of the Allies; for the *Corinthians*, the *Argives*, and the *Bæotians* determined to comply with his Demand, and even entered into a Treaty with him, which they confirmed by Oath, to give up the *Greeks* upon the Continent of *Asia*, provided he would furnish them with Money. But we, and we alone, had not the Assurance to abandon those States, much less to swear to such a Treaty. That the City of *Athens* is so spirited, so frank, so constant, so hearty in the common Cause, and as it were by Nature so averse to the Barbarian, must be ascribed to her being wholly *Greek*, without any mixture of Foreign Alloy. For none of your foreign Heroes, *Pelops*, *Cadmus*, *Aegyptus*, *Danaus*, and many others, who, though living under *Grecian* Laws, were Barbarians by Extraction; none of these, I say, are of the Number of our Citizens. We are genuine *Greeks*,

no Half-Barbarians. Hence proceeds the genuine and unadulterated Enmity of *Athens* to all Barbarians. Wherefore we were once more left alone for refusing to do an Action so infamous, and so impious as that of delivering up *Grecians* into the Hands of *Persians*. But being restored to what we had been deprived of in the former War, by the Assistance of Heaven we prosecuted this with more Success. For becoming once again Masters of a Fleet, having rebuilt our Walls, and recovered our Colonies, we were soon freed from a War, which our Enemies were very glad to get rid of. In this War we lost indeed many gallant Men, some at *Corinth*, by the Disadvantage of their Situation, others at *Lecheum* by Treachery. Nor were they less gallant, who saved the King of *Persia*, and drove the *Lacedaemonians* out of the Seas. These are the Men I would recall to your Remembrance, and in honouring and praising such as These it becomes all of you to join.

Such were the Exploits of those brave Men who here lie buried; such were the Exploits of those others also who, though unhappily deprived of Burial, died like them in the Service of their Country; Exploits, many and great indeed, as hath been related; but more and still greater yet remain untold; to enumerate all which many whole Days and Nights would scarce suffice. It is the Duty therefore of all and of every particular Man to bear
these

these Things in mind, and, as in Battle, to exhort the Children of such Fathers not to quit their Rank, in which their Ancestors have placed them, by a base and cowardly Retreat. Accordingly, I myself, O ye Sons of virtuous Men, do now exhort you, and as long as I shall remain among you will never cease reminding and exhorting you to use your utmost Endeavours to surpass them in Virtue. But upon this Occasion it is my Duty to tell you what your Fathers, when they were going to expose their Lives for their Country, commanded us to say to those, whom they left behind in case any Accident should befall themselves. I will repeat to you what I heard from their own Mouths, and what, if I may judge from the Discourse they then held, they would now gladly say to you themselves, were it in their Power. Imagine therefore you hear them speaking. These were their Words:

“ O Children ! That ye the are Sons of virtuous Fathers
“ is evident from our present Circumstances. For having
“ it in our Option to live with Dishonour, we have generously made it our Choice to die, rather than bring
“ ourselves and our Posterity into Disgrace, and reflect
“ Infamy back upon our Parents and Forefathers ; persuaded as we were, that the Life of one who dishonours his Family, is not worth living, and that such a
“ Man can have no Friend either here upon Earth among
“ Mankind, or among the Gods hereafter in the Realms
“ below.

“ below. It behoves you therefore to bear these our
 “ Words in Remembrance, to the end that all your Undertakings may be accompanied with Virtue; assuring
 “ yourselves, that without Virtue every Acquisition, every
 “ Pursuit is base and infamous. For Wealth can add no
 “ Dignity to an unmanly Mind. The Riches of such an
 “ one are for others, not for himself. Neither are Beauty
 “ and Strength of Body, when joined with Baseness and
 “ Cowardice, to be deem’d ornamental, but disgracefull
 “ rather: since if they make a Man more conspicuous,
 “ they at the same time make the Baseness of his Soul
 “ conspicuous also. Wisdom in like manner separated
 “ from Justice, and the rest of the Virtues, is not Wisdom,
 “ but Cunning. Wherefore in the first place, and
 “ in the last, and throughout the whole Course of your
 “ Lives, it is incumbent upon you to labour with all your
 “ Faculties to surpass us and your Progenitors in Glory.
 “ Otherwise be assured, that in this Contest of Virtue,
 “ if we remain victorious, the Victory will cover us with
 “ Confusion, which on the contrary, if obtained by you,
 “ will make us happy. The most effectual way for you
 “ to surpass us, and obtain this Victory, is so to order
 “ your Conduct, as neither to abuse nor waste the Glory
 “ left you by your Ancestors. For can any thing be more
 “ ignominious for a Man, who would be thought something,
 “ than to receive Honour not from his own Merit,
 “ rit,

“rit, but from the Reputation of his Forefathers. Here-
“ditary Honour is indeed a noble and splendid Patri-
“mony. But to enjoy a fair Estate either in Fame or
“Money, and for want of a proper Supply of Wealth and
“Glory of your own, not to be able to transmit it to your
“Posterity, is infamous and unmanly. If you endeavour
“after these Things, you will be welcome to us and we
“to you, whenever your respective Fates shall conduct
“you to us in the World below: but if you disregard
“them and become profligate, not one of us shall be wil-
“ling to receive you. Thus much be spoken to our
“Children: But to our Fathers and our Mothers, if
“any of them should survive us, and it should be thought
“necessary to administer Comfort to them, say, that it
“is their Duty patiently to bear Misfortunes, whenever
“they happen, and not give themselves up to Grief:
“otherwise they will never be without Sorrow; for the
“ordinary Occurrences of Life will afford sufficient Mat-
“ter for Affliction. They should seek to heal and miti-
“gate their Troubles in the Remembrance, that, as to the
“most considerable Point, the Gods have heard their
“Prayers. For they did not pray that their Children
“might be immortal, but virtuous and renowned. And
“This, the greatest of all Blessings, they have obtained.
“It is not easy for mortal Man to have every thing
“fall out according to his Wishes in this Life. Be-
“sides,

“ fides, by bearing their Misfortunes with Resolution and
 “ Fortitude, they will gain the Opinion of being the ge-
 “ nuine Parents of magnanimous Children, and of being
 “ themselves Men of Courage and Magnanimity; whereas
 “ by sinking under their Sorrows, they will raise a Suspi-
 “ cion of their not being our Fathers, or Those who shall
 “ praise us will be thought to have most grossly flattered
 “ us; neither of which Things ought to come to pass.
 “ They themselves rather should bear chief Testimony to
 “ our Praise, shewing by their Actions that they are in-
 “ deed Men, and the Fathers of Men. The old Proverb,
 “ *Not too much of any thing*, seems to be well said, and
 “ in fact it is so. For He, who hath within himself all
 “ that is necessary to Happiness, or near the matter, and
 “ who doth not so depend upon other Men, as to have
 “ himself and his Affairs in a perpetual Fluctuation, ac-
 “ cording to their good or ill Conduct, He, I say, is best
 “ provided for this Life; He is moderate, He is prudent,
 “ He is a Man; and He upon all Occasions, whether he
 “ obtains or loses an Estate or Children, will pay the
 “ greatest Regard to this Proverb: for placing all his Con-
 “ fidence in himself, he will neither be too much eleva-
 “ ted with Joy, nor depressed with Sorrow. Such Men
 “ we should think worthy to be our Fathers; such we
 “ wish them to be, and such we affirm they are; such
 “ likewise are we now proved to be, by neither murmur-

R r ing

“ing nor trembling at Death, tho’ we were to meet it
“this Instant. And this same State of Mind do we re-
“commend to our Fathers and our Mothers; intreating
“them to make use of such Sentiments as these thro’ the
“remaining Part of their Lives; and to be persuaded,
“that they will do us the greatest Pleasure, by not weep-
“ing and lamenting for us; that if the Dead have any
“Knowledge of what passes among the Living, their af-
“flicting themselves, and bearing their Misfortunes hea-
“vily, will be very unacceptable to us; whereas, on the
“contrary, their bearing their Afflictions lightly, and
“with Moderation, will be most pleasing. Our Lives and
“Actions are now going to have an End; but such an
“End, as among Men is deemed most glorious, which
“therefore ought rather to be graced with Honour, than
“sullied with Lamentations. By taking Care of our Wives
“and Children; by educating the latter, and turning
“themselves and their Minds wholly to such-like Em-
“ployments, they will the more readily forget their Mis-
“fortunes; and lead a Life more exemplary, more agree-
“able to Reason, and more acceptable to us. Let this
“suffice to be spoken on our Part to our Relations and
“Friends. To the Commonwealth we recommend the
“Care of our Parents and Children; beseeching Her to
“give These an honourable Education, and to cherish
“Those in their Old age, in a manner worthy of them:
“But

“ But we are sensible that, without this Recommendation, all proper Care will be taken of Both.”

These Things, O ye Children, and ye Parents of the Deceased, have they given me in charge to say to you on their Part; and I have most willingly, and to the best of my Power, executed their Commands. On my own part, and for their Sakes I beseech you, ye Sons! to imitate your Fathers; You, Fathers, to take Comfort for the Loss of these your Sons; assuring yourselves, that both in our publick and in our private Capacities, we will take Care of you, and cherish your Old age, as the respective Duties and Relations of every one of us may require. Ye yourselves well know what Provisions the Commonwealth hath made; that by express Laws she hath ordered Care to be taken of the Children and Parents of Those, who die in Battle; and hath given it in Charge to the chief Magistrate, to take Them, above all others, into his particular Protection; that the Latter may be guarded from all Injuries, and the Former not be sensible of their Orphan State, nor feel the want of a Father; whose Place the Commonwealth supplies, by assisting in the Care of their Education while they are Children, and when they are grown up to Manhood, dismissing them to their several Vocations with an honourable Present of a complete Suit of Armour. And this she does, not only with a View of intimating to them, and reminding them of the Occupa-

tions of their Fathers, by presenting them with those Implements of Valour, which their Fathers had so gloriously employed; but also that being arrived to the full Strength, and furnished with the Armour of a Man, when they first go to take Possession of their Household Gods, they may set out with a good Omen. Moreover, she fails not from time to time to pay these anniversary Honours to the Deceased; taking upon her to perform in general with regard to them, whatever is due to each from their respective Relations; and to complete all, by exhibiting Games of different Kinds, Equestrian and Gymnastick, Muscal and Poetical, she effectually supplies the Office of Sons and Heirs to Fathers; of Fathers to Sons; and that of Guardians and Protectors to their Parents and Kindred: discharging at all Times all and every Part of the Duties that belong to all. Learn, therefore, by reflecting upon these things, to bear your Afflictions with more Patience; for by so doing you will act the most friendly part as well to the Dead as to the Living; and be better able to give and receive Comfort, to cherish and assist each other. And now having jointly paid the Tribute of your Sorrow to the Deceased, as the Law directs, you may all depart.

I

* This

* This, *Menexenus*, is the Speech of *Aspasia* the *Mileſian*. *Men*. In truth, *Socrates*, *Aspasia* is a happy Woman, if ſhe can indeed make ſuch Speeches as theſe. *Sec*. If you doubt of it, come along with me, and you ſhall hear her herſelf.

Men. I have been often in her Company, and very well know what ſhe is. *Sec*. Well then, don't you admire her, and are you not obliged to her for this Oration?

Men. I am greatly obliged, *Socrates*, either to her or to him, whoever was the Author of it, but more particularly to you, who have repeated it to me. *Sec*. Very well: but remember not to ſpeak of it, that I may hereafter be at liberty to communicate to you ſome more of her fine political Diſcourſes.

Men. You may depend upon my not betraying you. Be you only as good as your Word. *Sec*. I will not fail.

* This Oration, which *Plato* (either from undervaluing his own Performance, or with a View of abating the too great Eſteem which the *Athenians* entertained for their Orators, whom he rallies very finely in the Beginning of the Dialogue) hath here given to *Aspasia* the *Mileſian*, was however held in ſuch Eſtimation at *Athens*, that, as *Tully* informs us, it was ordered to be repeated every Year, on the Day appointed for the Commemoration of thoſe who had been ſlain in Battle: A plain Evidence of the Preference which the *Athenians* gave to this Oration of *Plato* before all others ſpoken on the ſame Occaſion, though ſome of them were com-
poſed by their greateſt Orators, as *Pericles*, *Lyſias*, *Hyperides*, and *Demofthenes*. Thoſe of *Hyperides* and *Demofthenes* are not now extant. That aſcribed to *Pericles* by *Thucydides*, and preſerved in his Hiſtory, was moſt probably written by that Hiſtorian. *Lyſias*'s Oration is yet remaining. We have therefore but one genuine Oration of any of theſe Orators, upon this Subject, with which we can compare this Oration of *Plato*; to whom I ſhall not ſcruple to give the Advantage upon the Compariſon. For the reſt, we have the Deciſion of the *Athenians*, who were acquainted with all the others, in favour of *Plato*; and in their Judgment, I think, we may ſafely acquieſce.

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